J. Numismatic Soc. India

Vol. 39
1977
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THE JOURNAL ~~OF THE~~ (NUMISMATIC) (SOCIETY OF (INDIA

[C. R. SINGHAL COMMEMORATION VOLUME]

Vol. XXXIX 1977 **Parts I-II**

Vol 39 [illegible]

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VARANASI-221 005

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA
B. H. U., VARANASI-5, U. P., INDIA

"The publication of the Journal was financially supported by the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi.

The responsibility for the facts stated, opinions expressed or conclusions reached is entirely that of the Editor and the Indian Council of Historical Research accepts no responsibility for them."

Printed at
THE TARA PRINTING WORKS, VARANASI,

Late Shri C. R. Singhal
(Jan. 5, 1898—Nov. 4, 1976)

JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

VOL. XXXIX [1977] PARTS I-II

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EDITORIAL

We are indeed very sorry for the unusual delay in the publication of the Volumes XXXIX and XL of our Journal. This delay has been caused mainly by circumstances beyond our control and by the difficulties the press experienced in the publication of vol. XXXIX of the journal. We are sure we will be able to maintain the regularity of the Journal and will publish Vols. XL and XLI well before this year is over. Vol. XL is already in the press.

The Executive Council of the Society in 1977 decided to change the type and format etc. of the Journal. Hence we started looking for a reasonably good press, which can offer an improved quality of printing. Our main problem, however, has been financial. The financial condition of the society was never very sound, and in the past year we had to face several hardships due to lack of funds. We hope we shall be able to overcome these difficulties in this financial year and pay off the loans. The change in the format etc. of the Journal has enhanced the cost of its production. The Indian Council of Historical Research has been kindly meeting the cost of production of our Journal for the past few years. We have now approached the Council to enhance the grant for the publication of the Journal from Vol. XXXIX (1977) onwards. The matter is under consideration of the Council and we hope the Council will enhance the grant to enable us to meet the cost of the production of the Journal.

For the past sometime we have not been able to bring out any other publications of the Society. We have been giving a serious thought to this aspect of our programme. The Corpus Scheme is an ambitious commitment of the Society. It is, however, rather painful that practically nothing worthwhile could be done in the matter after the publication of A. S. Altekar's *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*. Hence we have decided to reorganise of Corpus Scheme so that one or two Volumes are sent to the press in a couple of years.

The Society also published monographs in its Memoirs and Numismatic Notes and Monographs series. Some Manuscripts are lying with us but we could not sent them to the press so far for want of funds. We are seeking the help of the Indian Council of Historical Research to finance these two series of our publications. The Council, it is hoped, shall come to our help in this direction as well.

We are sorry for the inconvenience caused to our members due to the delay in the publication of the Journal. We request them to bear it all with us. The present Volume of the Journal is a clear pointer of our determination to regularise the publication of the Journal and the other series of publications of the Society and to bring them out in a befitting manner.

LALLANJI GOPAL

VEDIC "AJA" IN THE INDUS VALLEY

PRITHVI K. AGRAWALA

(**Pl. VI B**)

Several scholars have already suggested some connecting links between the two cultures of the early Vedic literature and the Indus Valley. For instance, a Harappan seal with the seated figure of a deity surrounded by animals is now widely known to afford a comparison with the Paśupati, "Lord-of-beasts", aspect of god Rudra-Śiva of Vedic tradition.[1] Likewise, the Vedic myth regarding Indra's exploits of destroying boroughs (*purs*) has been interpreted in the light of the Harappan fortifications.[2] Many other parallelisms between the two protohistoric civilisations of India that have been pointed out and sometimes discussed with respect to their presumable cultural bearings are mostly found to be indeed not so striking and assuming.[3] In a similar attempt, however, one more observation is being put forth below as affording a significant comparison of a Vedic motif with certain representations on the Harappan seals.

A curious animal character met with in the early Vedic texts is that of *Aja*, the word literally meaning a he-goat, and also, one 'who is unborn.' In view of the second meaning, the Aja is celebrated as early as the Ṛgveda[4] to be a deity-personification, sometimes designated as Aja-ekapād, the One-footed Goat, or the Unborn with single foot.[5] Although one can hardly be certain whether the name *Aja* wherever it occurs in the Ṛgveda as unaccompanied by the epithet *ekapād*, 'one-footed', refers to the same deity, but in most of the contexts his position as a being with some divine status or with something mysterious, is indeed suggested.[6] This Aja has been equated with the One Supreme principle and identified with Unborn (*Aja*) Prajāpati.[7]

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1. J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, London, 1931, vol. I, p. 52.
2. M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, Cambridge, 1953, pp. 90-91.
3. R. P. Chanda, *The Indus Valley in the Vedic Period*, Calcutta, 1926; V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 22, 24, 26, 33, etc.; K. N. Sastri, *New Light on the Indus Civilization*, vol. II, Delhi, 1965, pp. 92 ff.; etc.
4. *RV*. I. 67.3; I. 164.6; X. 82.6.
5. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, pp. 73-74.
6. V. S. Agrawala, *Sparks from the Vedic Fire*, Varanasi, 1962, p. 40.
7. Ibid.

In the later Vedic Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇa texts, one Aja occurs as the mysterious animal sacred to god Prajāpati,[1] and is enjoined in the sacrificial ritual to be offered to Prajāpati, Lord-of-beings, or to one of his forms.[2] In such contexts a composite mythical nature of this animal-offering is graphically enumerated doubtless indicating this curious Aja not to be a common goat but a composite of several creatures. The relevant texts are cited here in their English translation for express comments with Sanskrit original being given in the footnotes.

I.

"He who desires offspring and cattle should offer to Prajāpati a hornless goat. Verily he has recourse to Prajāpati with his own share; verily he begets for him offspring and cattle.

"The beard is the characteristic of man, the lack of horns of the horse, having incisors on one side only that of cattle, having sheep-like hooves that of sheep, the goat-nature that of goats; so many are the domesticated animals, verily by their characteristics he wins them." (Translation by A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School entitled Taittirīya Saṅhitā*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1914, vol. I, p. 131).[3]

II.

"...for likeness to Prajāpati. This animal is slain to make up all forms of animals; its hairs are the form of man, its lack of horns that of horses, the possession of one set of incisors only that of cows, the sheep-like hooves that of sheep, that it is a goat, that is the form of goats." (Ibid., vol. II. p. 440.)[4]

The '*prājāpatya-aja*', or the goat belonging to Prajāpati, is defined above as a composite form of five domesticated (*grāmya*) animals, namely, having

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[1] It is often designated as '*Prājāpatya-aja*', i. e. the he-goat, which is the form of Prajāpati, or, belongs to Prajāpati.

[2] See the texts cited below.

[3] *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* II. 1. 1. 4-5 : paśukāmaḥ syāt sa etaṃ prājāpatyamajaṃ tūparamālabheta prajāpatimeva svena bhāgadheyenopadhāvati as evāsmai prajāṃ paśūn pra janayati yachchhmaśruṇastat purushāṇāṃ rūpaṃ yat tūparas tadaśvānāṃ yadanyatodan tad gavāṃ yadavyā iva śaphās tadavīnāṃ yadajastadajānāmetāvanto vai grāmyāḥ paśavastān rūpeṇaivāva rundhe.

[4] *Tait. Saṃ.* V. 5. 1. 2-3 : prajāpateranurūpatvāya sarvāṇi vā esha rūpāṇi paśūnāṃ pratyā labhyate yachchhmaśruṇastat purushāṇāṃ rūpaṃ yat tūparas tadaśvānāṃ yadanyatodan tad gavāṃ yadavyā iva śaphās tadavīnāṃ yadajastadajānāṃ.

(i) the beard that of man, (ii) the hornless nature that of the horse, (iii) incisors limited to one jaw only that of cattle, (iv) the hooves that of sheep, and (v) the nature or body of the goat.

III.

"And, again, why he slaughters this animal;—in this animal doubtless the form of all animals is : inasmuch as it is hornless and bearded, that is the form of man, for man is hornless and bearded; inasmuch as it is hornless and furnished with a mane, that is the form of the horse, for the horse is hornless and furnished with a mane; inasmuch as it is eight-hoofed, that is the bull's form, for the bull is eight-hoofed; inasmuch as its hoofs are like those of the sheep, that is the form of the sheep; inasmuch as it is a he-goat, that is that of the goat. Thus when he slaughters this one, thereby indeed all those animals are slaughtered for him. Whichever of these may suit him—either those five animals, or that (he-goat) for Prajāpati, or that one for (Vāyu) Niyutvat." (Translation by J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Oxford, 1894, pp. 177-78).[1]

IV.

"The gods have Prajāpati (as their) best. With the best verily all the gods please. That is white, hairy, hornless, bearded, having one set of incisors only, four-footed. Inasmuch as it is white, hairy, that is the form of sheep; inasmuch as it is hornless, that is of horses; inasmuch as it is bearded, that is of men; inasmuch as it has one set of incisors only, that is of cattle; inasmuch as it is a he-goat, that is of the goats.

"This is the sacrifice of all animals. Verily, with the sacrifice of all animals they please the father Prajāpati, (who is) the year."[2]

---

1. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* VI. 2. 2. 15 : yadvevaitaṃ paśumālabhate. etasminha paśau sarveshāṃ paśūnāṃ rūpaṃ yat tūparo lapsudī tat purushasya rūpaṃ tūparo hi lapsudī purusho yat tūparaḥ kesaravānstadaśvasya rūpaṃ tūparo hi kesaravānaśvo yadashṭāśaphas tad gorūpamashṭāśapho hi gauratha yadasyāveriva śaphās tadave rūpaṃ yadajas tadajasya tadyadetamālabhate tena haivāsyaite sarve paśava ālabdhā bhavanti ato yatamadasya karmopakalpetaite vā pañcha paśava esha vā prājāpatya esha vā niyutvatīyaḥ.
2. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* II. 371 : prajāpatiśreshṭhā vai devāḥ. śreshṭhata evaitat sarvā devatāḥ prīṇanti. śveto lomaśas tūparo lapsugyanyatodan chatushpād yach chhveto lomaśastad avīnāṃ rūpam. yat tūparas tad aśvānām. yad lapsugī tat purushāṇām. yad anyatodaṃs tad gavām. yad ajastadajānām. sarveshāṃ vā esha paśūnāṃ medhaḥ. sarveshām evaitat paśūnāṃ medhena saṃvatsaraṃ pitaraṃ prajāpatiṃ prīṇayanti.

In the above passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* different limbs of the same five animals are stated to be composed in the body of the fabulous Aja, though there is some noteworthy variation as to the particular bodily attributes of them. Man is represented by the hornless and bearded character, the horse by its manes and also the lack of horns, cattle by the eight-hoofed or four-footed nature of which each foot having two hoofed digits, the sheep by the sheep-like hoofs and the he-goat by its own nature or bodily form.

In the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa,* this same fantastic animal is described to combine different members of the five animals to be offered to Prajāpati, namely, sheep, horse, man, cattle and he-goat. On the main body of a he-goat that was to have white hairs of the sheep, hornless head of the horse, the bearded nature of man and single set of incisors of cattle

It is, however, with some modified details that the Aja is enumerated in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.* Instead of five some six or seven animals appear to have their bodily parts represented in the composite Aja, viz., (i) the beard of man, (ii) the head of the horse, (iii) the ears of the ass, (iv) the hairs that of the dog, (v) the fore-legs that of cattle, (vi) the hind-legs that of the sheep, and possibly (vii) the form of the he-goat as it is to be the Aja, he-goat, comprising all forms of (domestic) animals. Almost a similar composition of the Aja is given in the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā.*

V.

"He who desires cattle should offer to Prajāpati a hornless (animal, or, goat). This is verily to make up forms of all animals : the beard is like that of man; the head is like that of the horse; the ears are like that of the ass; the hairs are like that of the dog; the fore-legs are like those of cattle; the hind legs are like those of the sheep. The Aja indeed obtaining all forms of animals possesses (them); all forms of animals are present in it."[1]

VI.

"For (obtaining) all sorts of desires he should sacrifice to Prajāpati a hornless goat, possessing all forms...... Its head is like that of the horse, ears like that of the ass, beard like that of man, fore-legs like that of the bull, hind-legs like that of the sheep, hairs like that of the dog : this becomes Aja."[1]

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[1] *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* II. 5. 1 : prajāpatya·ṇ tūparamālabheta paśukāmaḥ...sarveshāṃ vā esha paśūnāṃ rūpāni prati, purushasyeva śmaśrūṇyaśvasyaiva śiro, gardabhasyeva karṇau, śuna iva lomāni, gauriva pūrvau pādā, averivaparā, ajaḥ khalu vai sarvāṇyeva paśūnāṃ rūpāṇyāptvāvarundhe, sarvāṇyenaṃ paśūnāṃ rūpāṇyupatiṣṭhante.

In all of the versions cited above the Aja is said to combine all animal forms, or the forms of all domestic animals, hence the epithet '*viśvarūpa*', "having all forms", or "omniform". This significant epithet of Aja can even be traced back as early as the *Ṛgveda,* where this Viśvarūpa Aja finds clear mention.[2]

But the Aja's description as given by the Maitrāyaṇī and Kāṭhaka recensions of the Black Yajurveda seems to represent an incongruous tradition for all other texts cited above enlist only five animal forms as composing the Aja figure. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is even specific on this point as it clearly mentions the number of animals involved as five. This also is confirmed by the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* as it calls those animals as of the *grāmya* or domesticated kind, under which class mostly five animals (including man) are counted invariably in the early Vedic tradition.[3]

But what was the exact nature of this mythical Aja ? It represented doubtless a conceptual being which had no real existence in nature and was presumably also no form composed of various limbs of living animals immolated for the purpose. On the other hand, this concept must be understood to have replaced the earlier practice of animal sacrifice. Thus, it is very likely that the composite Aja is to be connected with the *Aja Pañchaudana*, to whom a complete hymn of thirtyeight stanzas is dedicated in the *Atharvaveda*.[4] In the light of the evidence offered by this hymn we are reasonably to believe that this composite Aja was ritually made to consist of various limbs of five (or more in later tradition) animals, which were symbolically fashioned in five different grains.

Now, a striking parallel for this mythical Aja of Vedic tradition will be found represented on certain Harappan seals. The composite animal on Seals 376 (upper figure) and 377, 378 (**Plate VI. B. 1**), 380 (**Plate VI. B. 2**) and 381 (**Plate VI. B. 3**) of Marshall's report, is described by Mackay "to be a ram,

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1. *Kaṭhaka Saṃhitā* XIII. 1 : prājāpatyamajaṃ tūparaṃ viśvarūpamālabheta sarvebhyaḥ kāmebhyaḥ......aśvasyeva vā etasya śiro gardabhasyeva karṇau purushasyeva śmaśrūṇi goriva pūrvau pādā averivāparau śuna iva lomānyajo bhavati.
2. *RV.* I. 162. 2.
3. See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. 509.
4. *AV.* IX. 5.1-38.

with the horns of a bull, a human face, and the trunk and tusks of an elephant. That the body of this composite beast is a ram's body is indicated by the long locks of wool on its fore-quarters. The hind-quarters and hind-legs are, however, those of a tiger. On these seals where the face is not broken away, it appears to be human, and the eyes, like those of the statues, are very elongated and slit-like."[1]

A mythical, hybrid creature of almost the same nature occurs on Seals 247, 249 and 250 from Harappa as published by Vats,[2] and on Seals 258, 411, 450, 493, 521, and 636 (obverse) from Mohenjo-daro as published by Mackay.[3] An analysis of this animal form in the light of the Vedic evidence culled above, would tend to reveal several physical attributes of at least three or four animals to be commonly employed in the two traditions :

(i) it is primarily a goat form;

(ii) having the face of man;

(iii) the horns or/and the fore-legs of cattle; and

(iv) the mane of the horse.

It is further possible to see other features as comparable. The centepede hanging down from the chin of the beast on Harappan seals can be presumably interpreted as the long dangling beard represented after the human fashion. What have been identified to be the tusks of an elephant are perhaps to be taken only as curious indications by the artist for the incisors in the lower jaw of the bull being applied for clarity over the mouth.[4] But this last suggestion would be possibly making too much of an otherwise simple depiction by the artist. This, however, must be pointed out that even in the Vedic tradition was admitted more than one list of animals that were to be presented in the body of the ritualistic Aja. The basic idea certainly was that of he-goat hence the name Aja, over whose body other physical attributes of four or more animals were applied, commonly including man, cattle and the horse.

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1. Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, vol. II, p. 389.
2. M. S. Vats, *Harappa*, Delhi, 1940, p. 324.
3. E. J. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, New Delhi, 1938, pp. 333-34.
4. Cp. such other curious device of the Indus artist, who showed for a pair of horns only a single horn supposedly in representations of the so-called unicorn in profile, even though, in other common cases, the animal figures being in profile are given the frontal view of the horns.

A difficult term in the Vedic descriptions of the Aja is *tūpara*, which has been commonly rendered by "hornless." For this meaning indeed we have the authority of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which has defined *tūpara* as *avishāṇa*.[1] But as has been observed by Caland in a context of the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, "a *tūpara* animal, therefore, is, if I am right, not only a hornless animal, but also one with small, incurved bent horns."[2] However, in the texts on Aja the epithet *tūpara* is used not only to qualify the hornless nature of the Aja, but also to indicate the form of man and of the horse both of whom are doubtless unhorned. But as the Aja also shared the character of the horned animals, such as cattle and goats, it was mostly described to be *tūpara* (in its hornless nature of the horse and man), but not *aviṣhāṇa* (or unhorned), as it carried unassuming short, curved horns. However, this term *tūpara* must be admitted to remain rather obscure and puzzling. The expression 'hornless' (*tūpara*) hardly appears to tally with the form of composite Aja found in the Harappan seals. The Harappan specimens represent this animal invariably as carrying prominent horns on the head, presumably that of a Brahmani bull.

Attention may be drawn here also to an allied type of depiction of the mythical composite goat on Mohenjo-daro Seal 430 of Mackey.[3] (**Pl. VI B. 4**). The legendary scene on this tablet is, however, well known and needs no specific comments here. The animal standing behind the worshipper of the Tree-divinity is a fabulous form having a goat's body, with a goats tail and a pair of goat's horns extended laterally, a human face,[4] the fore-legs of cattle, the mane of a horse and the hind-quarters and the hind-legs of a tiger.

From this representation it is apparent that, both in the Harappan as well as Vedic beliefs, several variants with respect to the formal detail of the composite Aja were prevalent the underlying common concept being that of a fabulous he-goat composed of the characteristic bodily attributes of several animals.

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1. *ŚB.* V. 1. 3. 8.
2. W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa Translation*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 43, note on IV. 1. 2.
3. Mackay, op. cit., p. 337; also pl. XCIX, A.
4. Ibid., p. 332, see Seal No. 606.

CUP-SHAPED COINS FROM KĀŚĪ[1]

C. VALDETTARO

(Pls. 1-VI A)

In the third Volume of this *Journal*[2] Babu Shri Nath Sah published six inedited silver coins, obtained from a Dealer in Lucknow in 1940; as the weights of these pieces varied between 75 and 79 grains (4.85 to 5.11 gms = 42 to 44 Ratī)[3] the Author classified them as Adhyardha Kārshāpaṇas;[4] he described their unusual saucer-like shape and had the insight of recognising—from such a limited sample—that '*As a rule, each coin has four big and complex symbols; one is at its top, one at the bottom, one to the left and one on the right side; in some cases the symbols opposite to each other appear to be similar or identical*'. In a brief editorial note, A. S. Altekar remarked that the new coins were similar to 12 Kosala coins published by Durga Prasad in *N. S.*, Vol. XLV, Pls. I-III; both sets of coins shared the peculiarity of having four major symbols, both were cup shaped and, as all had been purchased from a Dealer in Lucknow, they must all belong to the realm of Kosala.[5] In the meantime, a dozen similar coins, deriving from a hoard in Jaunpur and acquired by Lucknow's Museum, were also mentioned by R. B. Prayag Dayal in the Presidential address to the Annual General Meeting of our Society.[6]

Two years later E. H. C. Walsh, after having recapitulated all[7] that had been written till then on the subject, had to admit that the new cup-shaped coins did not show the serpentine symbol usually borne by Kosala coins,

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1. My thanks are due to the Officers of Bhārat Kalā Bhawan, Varanasi, for allowing me to publish data on coins in that Museum. With deep gratitude I remember also the friends who have allowed me to work on their coins, publishing them in this article.
2. *JNSI*, Vol. III, 1941, Part I, pp. 51-52 and Pl. IV/B.
3. I am, as usual, taking 1 Ratī = 1.8 gr = 0.1166 gm.
4. The theoretical weight of one-and-a-half Kārshāpaṇa comes to 32 + 16 = 48 Ratī.
5. It is a pity that, at times, even the great Altekar based his judgements on photos only.
6. *JNSI*, Vol. III, 1941, pp. 140-141. The coins are, anyway, still to be checked personally.
7. *JNSI*, Vol. V, 1943, pp. 13 to 16 and Pl. I.

but as they shared other symbols with coins from the Paila Hoard[1], new and old had to go into the capacious bag of the Kosalan State. Unfortunately the interpretation of abstract symbols was not always Walsh's *forte*, and his easy hand drew confusing symbols, losing sight of Shri Nath Sah's simple and correct findings.

Further coins came to light in the following years and while scholars mention Bhabua, Jaunpur and the vicinity of Banaras town as archaeological find-spots, Dealers[2] insist in the narrow lanes of the old Varanasi as their main source of supply, from retailers, middle-men and bullion dealers. And well may these peculiar coins belong to Kāśī's Mahājanapada, a kingdom of wealth and importance which tradition tells us had the stature[3] to challenge with alternate fortunes its neighbouring realms before succumbing to the might of Kosala[4] and finishing in the jaws of Imperial Magadha.

At the time of my departure from India (1972) a sort of 'census' I had made recorded :

—at least 86 pieces[5] in Bhārat Kalā Bhawan Museum, Varanasi;

—some 22 in Lucknow State Museum;[6]

—30 in my Collection;

and then 3 pieces with Mr. H. P. Poddar, two with Mr. N. S. Dugar, one each with Dr. A. N. Lahiri and Mr. Ajit Ghose, plus a handfull with various friends who prefer anonimity; about 150 coins in all, on which very little has been written, namely:[7]

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[1] Also this hoard has been published by Walsh in *JNSI*, Vol. II, pp. 15-78 and Pls. I-VII. But see D. D. Kosambi in *JBBRAS*, Vol. 27, 1952, pp. 261-271.

[2] The majority of my coins derive from Shri K. C. Jaria of Lucknow and Sujat Singh Saraf of Delhi; both independently and repeatedly indicated Varanasi as the source of their supplies.

[3] *Jātaka*, II, 1.

[4] Hence, at times, a sort of 'special relation' between Kāśī and Kosala, which may help in overcoming D. C. Sircar's chronological objections in *Early Indian Indigenous Coins*, Univ. of Calcutta, 1971, pp. 52 and 53 in editorial foot-notes.

[5] I am dealing only with full size coins, excluding 'repoussee' fraction to be examined in a future article.

[6] As I have not seen the coins, the figure should be checked.

[7] A bibliography prepared without a library may not be the best, but the following are the main entries according to the notes I brought from India.

1968 D. C. Sircar: *Studies in Indian Coins*. Illustrated one of my coins in Pl. II/10, with a purely descriptive note at p. 350;

1969 P. L. Gupta : *Coins*. In a masterly introduction to earliest Indian coins, the learned author illustrates and comments on two varieties which he attributes respectively to Kāśī and Magadha (pp. 14-15, and Pl. I Nos. 8 and 9);[1]

1973 A. N. Lahiri : Archaic coins of Northern India, in *J. N. S. I.*, vol. XXXV, pp. 1 to 38. Discusses Kāśī issues, particularly at pp. 10 ff, and gives photos of 3 of my pieces in Pl. I.

As Chapter 2 '*Cup-shaped or saucer-like coins*' in the latter article reflects Dr. Lahiri's conclusions after long studies and hours of discussion with myself and brings forward all that was worth saying at the time, I will now add to the basic information already in print, the results of my later speculations.

A first point to be noted is that—in spite of the traditionalistic heading of this article—not all the coins under examination are scyphate. According to my opinion[2] at times the flans were simply struck with four symbol-bearing punches and remained practically flat, whilst in the majority of cases the planchets (no matter if deriving from flattened globules or cut out from silver plates) were first accurately hammered into hollowed cavities pre-arranged in stone; then by a second operation they were struck with punches on the concave side. It would in fact be materially impossible, by the simple action of four magic strokes, to harmonically bend any metallic surface into a shape that may take a man's full thumb-print.[3]

A second point is of importance and will be recalled in a subsequent article on the coinage of Kosala : major symbols as well as smaller counter-or shroff-marks, are to be found on the *concave Obverse only* of Kāśī coins. The Reverse punches, given in rage or out of carelessness are so rare, that in the Plates I have been able to give only two instances, while few coins would nowadays stand such a rough treatment as two millennia and a half of underground life have altered the molecular and chemical setting of the metals; an unfortunately high percentage of coins has become so brittle as to crumble at the lightest pressure, providing us with fragments which, subjected to a summary assay, have revealed silver in the proportion of 88 to 93. 6 %.[1]

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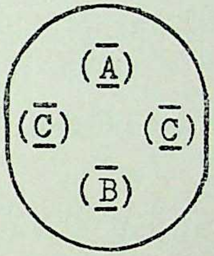
[1] M. Mitchiner's *Origins of Indian Coinage* has already been reviewed and this is no place for an Errata Corrige.

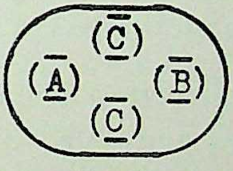
[2] Supported by the opinion of my friend Sig. E. Creperio, one of the leading jewellers in Italy.

[3] See my schematic Fig. 1. Punches do, occasionally, show through the flan, but as irregular bulges on the Reverse surface.

Reverting to the words of Shri Nath Sah, with the licence of slight alterations[2] due to our study of a much wider range of coins, I may repeat that it is true that '*each coin has four big and complex symbols. One* of the big symbols *is at its top, one at the bottom, one on the left and one on the right side,* and in all cases the right and left symbols are *identical.* Only four symbols were applied from the Mint and while Sah and Walsh illustrated their spceimens in a vertical position


$(\overline{\underline{A}})$
$(\overline{\underline{C}})$
$(\overline{\underline{C}})$
$(\overline{\underline{B}})$

my Plates bear the symbols in a horizontal setting


$(\overline{\underline{C}})$
$(\overline{\underline{A}})$
$(\overline{\underline{B}})$
$(\overline{\underline{C}})$

which I prefer for problems of light distribution in direct photography.

Out of the $(\overline{\underline{A}})$, $(\overline{\underline{B}})$, $(\overline{\underline{C}})$, $(\overline{\underline{C}})$ symbols, which are always purely *abstract* :

$(\overline{\underline{A}})$ can be considered of paramount importance and will be found till the smallest fractional coins of Kāśī; it is formed by a central circlet usually containing a dot, and surrounded by branch-like ramifications. The design is never identical in separate varieties, but one may say that even the worst impressions 'render the idea' to an exercised eye;

$(\overline{\underline{B}})$ second in importance and also noticed on minor coins of Kāśī, is usually based on a back-bone curve, branching off in irregular derivations;

$(\overline{\underline{C}})$ and $(\overline{\underline{C}})$ are identical on each single coin and come from the same punching-tool. It is the third symbol which distinguishes at first sight

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1. The two percentages respectively concern coins of types 16 and 9; both indexes denoting a prosperous and honest Government.
2. Italics are from S. N. S.

any variety of coins, and, in my collection, I have succeeded in recognising at least a dozen different drawings.[1]

At this stage, trying in vain to correlate the widely scattered weights with the various symbols, I soon realised that my 29 genuine[2] coins would only yield a partial view of the metrology of these issues; so—through the courtesy of my friend Dr. A. N. Lahiri and of the Deputy Director of BKB, Dr. Anand Krishna—I obtained photos and measurements of 85 specimens in the Varanasi Museum; combined with the data at my disposal, the weights gave the unusual curve I have reproduced in Fig. 2.

With ample provisos for the facts that :

— there are many ways to draw frequency curves, changing their aspect and meaning;

— the curve is based on the evidence of only 123 pieces and might be entirely upset by future findings;

the two 'humps' in the range of 51 and 42 Ratī might signify a 20% reduction in the weight standard, with a prevalence of heavy coins in the trays of BKB, as against lighter specimens deriving from one or more hoards dispersed in Delhi and Calcutta[3] during the late 1960s.

All coins being 'sicca'[4] a further factor of uncertainty lies in the fact that '*twin*' coins, as my Nos. 10C and 10E, differ by 40% in weight[5] and it is difficult for us, today, to rationalize the behaviour of a careless Mint Master in pre-Buddhist times.

It is therefore with some reluctance that I follow the steps of my predecessors who classified as Adhyardha Kārshāpaṇas the lighter coins which should range about a theoretical 32 + 16 = 48 Ratī, against an average of 42; along this path the heavier specie, of roughly 51 Ratī should aspire to the title of Adhyardha Viṁśatica of 40 + 20 = 60 Ratī, with no clear reasons for a powerful State to strike, as basic coins, something like pieces of 24 Annas or 30 Shillings, which may be possible in bookish speculations, but are unlikely in a realm in which money had to circulate smoothly in the purses of merchants and had flowed from the hands of good old King Brahmadatta, intent in paving with alms his ascent to heavens.

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[1] Photos of coins in BKB Museum show many more $(\overline{\underline{\mathrm{C}}})$ designs, but in principle I refuse doing any research work on photos only.

[2] My coin No. 5 is an obvious ancient forgery; though within the limits of normalcy, the weight has been excluded from calculations of weight.

[3] It often happens that hoards of invaluable historical importance, are split among Dealers, who dole the rarities to their widespread customers.

[4] 'The term *sicca*'—reads Hobson-Jobson, sub voce—'has been applied to newly coined rupees, which were at a *batta* or premium over those worn, or assumed to be worn by use'.

[5] $\frac{5.85 \text{ gm} - 4.15 \text{ gm}}{4.15} = 0.40$

Catalogue[1]

Type 1

Size 29.8 × 26.3 mm; Weight 4.85 grammes = 74.9 grains = 42 Ratī ca.
Excellent conditions; neat punching of symbols. Blank *Rev.*
(**Pl. I. 1**) Author's collection

Type 2A

Size 26.0 × 22.6 mm; wt. 5.0 gm = 77.2 gr = 43 Ratī
As previous coin (**Pl. I. 2A**) A. coll.

Type 2B

Size mm 27.7 × 23.2; Wt. 4.95 gm = 76.4 gr = 42 Ratī
As prev. coins (**Pl. I. 2B**) A. coll.

Type 2C

Size mm 29.6 × 24.6; Wt. 4.95 gm = 76.4gr = 42 Ratī
As prev. coins (**Pl. I. 2C**) A. coll.

Type 3

Size mm 29.1 × 23.4; Wt. 4.65 gm = 71.8 gr = 40 Ratī
Good conditions; several *Obv.* minor marks (**Pl. I. 3**) A. coll.

Type 4

Size mm 31.2 × 25.0; Wt. 4.9 gm = 75.6 gr = 42 Ratī
Two hard-hit punches on the Rev. side have marred the major *Obv.* symbols. Otherwise in good metal and conditions. (**Pl. I. 4**) A. coll.

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[1] Coins have been weighed and measured by the undersigned to :
— 1/10 of mm;
— plus or less 0.05 gm.
The equivalent values in grains are given to the nearest decimal, while Ratis are given in full units.

Type 5

Size mm. 30.3 × 26.2; Wt. 6.1 gm = 94.2 gr = 52 Ratī
Ancient forgery, punched and then crudely washed in white metal.
(**Pl. II. 5**) A. coll.

Type 6A

Size mm 30.3 × 23.8; Wt. 5.85 gm = 90.3 gr. = 50 Ratī
The coin has crumbled in various bits. (**Pl. II. 6A**) A. coll.

Type 6B

Size mm 30.5 × 23.1; Wt. 6.1 gm = 94.2 gr = 52 Ratī
Fine specimen; flat flan and no additional marks.
(**Pl. II. 6B**) Dugar coll.

Type 7

Size mm 28.5 × 24.0; Wt. 4.85 gm = 74.9 gr = 42 Ratī
Very clear symbols (**Pl. II. 7**) A. coll.

Type 8

Size mm 28.9 × 23.4; Wt. 5.1 gm = 78.7 gr = 44 Ratī
Several minor marks on *Obv.* and *Rev.* (**Pl. II. 8**) A. coll.

Type 9A

Size mm 31.4 × 22.5; Wt. 5.2 gm = 80.3 gr = 45 Ratī
Flat flan; excellent conditions. (**Pl. II. 9A**) Ghose coll.

Type 9B

Size mm 29.9 × 22.5; Wt. 5.05 gm = 77.9 gr = 43 Ratī
Fine coin, only slightly concave. (**Pl. II. 9B**) Dugar coll.

Type 9C

Size mm 32.0 × 23.1; Wt. 5.35 gm = 82.6 gr = 46 Ratī
One additional mark on *Obv.* and one on *Rev.* Flan has broken in two bits.
(**Pl. III. 9C**) A. coll.

Type 9D

Size mm 29.5 × 21.4; Wt. 5.1 gm = 78.7 gr = 44 Ratī
Good conditions; no additional marks (**Pl. III. 9D**) A. coll.

Type 9E

Size mm 35.0 × 25.1; Wt. 4.75 gm = 73.3 gr = 41 Ratī
No concavity; one additional *Obv.* mark. Broken flan
(**Pl. III. 9E**) A. coll.

Type 10A

Size mm 27.6 × 23.3; Wt. 4.6 gm = 71.0 gr = 39 Ratī
Broken flan; no additional marks (**Pl. III. 10A**) A. coll.

Type 10B

Size mm 28.5 × 23.8; Wt. 5.1 gm = 78.7 = 44 Ratī
Broken flan; otherwise neat coin (**Pl. III. 10B**) A. coll.

Type 10C

Size mm 31.6 × 21.8; Wt. 5.85 gm = 90.3 gr = 50 Ratī
Flat flan; broken (**Pl. III. 10C**)

Type 10D

Size mm 29.8 × 21.8; Wt. 4.5 gm = 69.5 gr = 39 Ratī
One *Rev.* punch, coinciding with an *Obv.* mark have made the coin brittle Flat flan (**Pl. III. 10D**) A. coll.

Type 10E

Size mm 28.7 × 23.4; Wt. 4.15 gm = 64.1 gr = 36 Ratī
Well preserved coin; no additional marks (**Pl. IV. 10E**) A. coll.

Type 11

Size mm 29.5 × 23.8; Wt. 5.0 gm = 77.2 gr = 43 Ratī
Clear symbols and several additional marks (**Pl. IV. 11**) A. coll.

Type 12

Size mm 29.5 × 25.6; Wt. 4.9 gm = 75.6 gr = 42 Ratī
Very good metal; (B̄) symbol not clear as it has been struck on a curved surface. Four additional small marks. (**Pl. IV. 12**) A. coll.

Type 13

Size mm 28.9 × 24.3; Wt. 4.9 gm = 75.6 gr = 42 Ratī
Two *Obv.* extra marks and two deeply punched in the back surface. This is the last coin, in the list, having a pronounced oval shape. (**Pl. IV. 13**) A. coll.

Type 14A

Size mm 24.4 × 22.4; Wt. 5.0 gm = 77.2 gr = 43 Ratī
The two (C̄) symbols, resembling the (Ā), have been struck with a smaller die. The flan derives, most probably, from a silver plate, cut in squarish/rectangular planchet (**Pl. IV. 14A**) A. coll.

Type 14B

Size mm 26.5 × 22.6; Wt. 4.75 gm = 73.3 gr = 41 Ratī
Resembling in all the previous coin (**Pl. IV. 14B**) A. coll.

Type 15A

Size mm 22.3 × 21.0; Wt. 4.7 gm = 72.5 gr = 40 Ratī

Clear symbols and good metal (**Pl. V. 15A**) A. coll.

Type 15B

Size 22.3 × 21.2; Wt. 4.7 gm = 72.5 gr = 40 Ratī

As previous coin (**Pl. V. 15B**) A. coll.

Type 16A

Size mm 23.5 × 21.0; Wt. 4.95 gm = 76.4 gr = 42 Ratī

Flan derived from plate. (C) symbol of 'solar' design

(**Pl. V.16 A**) A. coll.

Type 16B

Size mm 25.6 × 23.0; Wt. 4.35 gm = 67.1 gr = 37 Ratī

As previous coin (**Pl. V. 16B**) A. coll.

Type 16C

Size mm 22.8 × 21.0; Wt. 5.0 gm = 77.2 gr = 43 Ratī

Symbols as on coin 16 A, but badly overlapping (**Pl. V. 16C**) A. coll.

Type 17A

Size mm 24.5 × 22.6; Wt. 4.85 gm = 74.9 gr = 42 Ratī

Rectangular flan, neatly struck (**Pl. V. 17A**) A. coll.

Type 17B

Size mm 24.8 × 23.4; Wt. 4.75 = gr 73.3 = 41 Ratī

As 17 A, plus 4 small marks (**Pl. V. 17B**) A. coll.

Addendum[1]

Type 18

Size 29.9 × 25.2; Wt. 5.05 gm = 77.9 gr = 43 Ratī

(**Pl. VIA. 18**) Poddar coll.

Type 19

Size mm 29.3 × 27.2; Wt. 4.9 gm = 75.6 gr = 42 Rati

(**Pl. VIA. 19**) Poddar coll.

Type 20

Size mm 28.9 × 25.1; Wt. 4.9 gm = 75.6 gr = 42 Ratī

(**Pl. VIA. 20**) Poddar coll.

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[1] Drawings I had prepared on Mr. H. P. Poddar's coins have unfortunately gone astray, so in the Catalogue and Plates I am only giving data of which I am fully sure.

Fig. 1

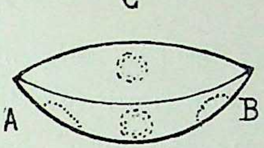
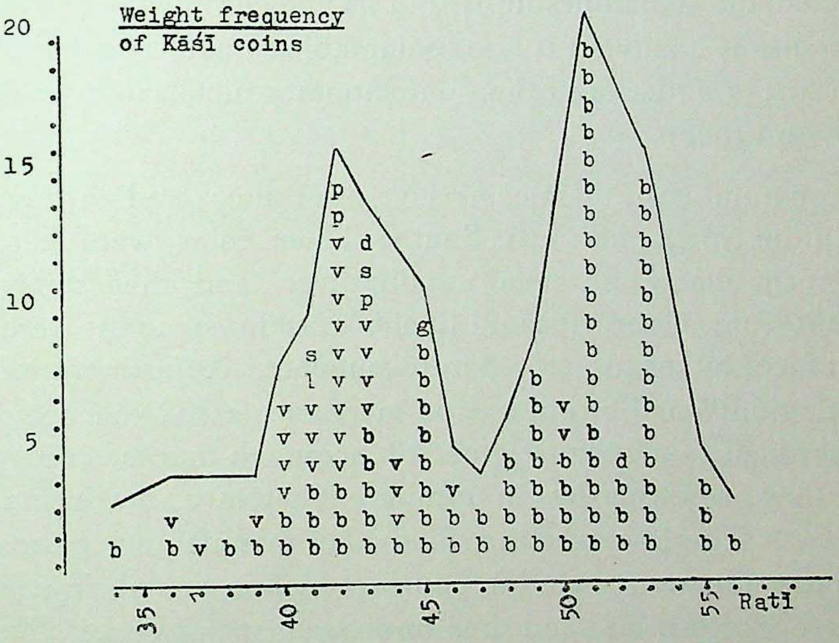


Fig. 2



Abbreviations :

b = 85 coins in Bhārat Kalā Bhawan
v = 29 ,, ,, Valdettaro's Collection
p = 3 ,, ,, Poddar's ,,
d = 2 ,, ,, Dugar's ,,
g = 1 ,, ,, Ghose's ,,
l = 1 ,, ,, Lahiri's ,,
s = 2 ,, ,, Sri Nath Sah (who, out of 6 coins, gives max. and min. weights only).

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SOME BUDDHIST SYMBOLS ON PUNCH-MARKED COINS

C. S. UPASAK

Plants, birds, geometrical designs, religious symbols and personifications etc. are commonly marked on the coins all over the world. In India, the earliest coins, usually called the 'punch-marked coins', bear numerous symbols or marks but not any legend or figure of a king. The marks or symbols vary a great deal, and the total number of these marks is more than two hundred. These symbols or marks have been carefully studied and dealt with by scholars; and some have been interpreted and sometimes utilised to fix the chronology of these coins, although by no means finally. It is also remarkable to note that these symbols are no less important to understand the contemporary pictorial art of the country as represented on them.

A large number of these coins have been discovered in various parts of India, both in the North and in the South. These coins were made by cutting out strips from the sheets of a metal usually silver, and then small rectangular pieces were cut from these strips and finally certain symbols were incised on one or both faces by means of separate punches. Adjustment of weight was made by cutting out small bits of one or more corners of the heavier pieces in order to bring them to proper weights. Some punch-marked coins are circular in shape but they are rather less in number. There are some rectangular silver bars or bent bars. There was another method of manufacturing the copper coins with these marks. It was done by pouring molten metal in a mould which possessed the reverse symbols and then impressed upon by the obverse symbols. These are usually called 'cast punchmarked' coins. The difference between the 'punch-marked' and 'cast punchmarked' coins is that while in the former the symbols are impressed by separate punches, in the latter all the symbols on the reverse were impressed by a single punch.

There is a considerable divergence of opinion among the numismatists as regards the problem as to who issued these coins and when. Once it was felt by some that this punch-marked coinage was issued by the merchant guilds or corporate bodies as they bear manifold symbols, and not by any royal authority. Some thought that these were the state issues, while other scholars held that all were not state issues but some were struck by private bankers with or without the permission of any government authority.[1] However, it is now generally believed that the imperial punch-marked coins are those that are found almost throughout the length and breadth of the Indian sub-continent, and which would show uniform weight and bear five symbols on the obverse. Thus the local or private punch-marked coins are supposed to have been issued earlier and were current in different *Janapadas* or *Mahājanapadas* before the rise of the great Mauryan empire. If the above inference be taken for granted, the local punch-marked coins may be dated earlier than the 4th century B. C. and the imperial punch-marked coins may be ascribed to a date little later than that. Some scholars believe that the rectangular silver bars or bent bar coins are the oldest in this series.[2]

In the Pali *Tipiṭaka* the reference to coins-gold, silver and copper or lead and their marks *(rūpa)* on them are well-known.[3] We need not discuss them here. But there is no doubt that religion has played an important role and has inspired people to devise religious symbols on coins. How far the marks on the punch-marked coins may be correlated with fact is a matter of our exploration.

During the life time of the Buddha his Dhamma had taken firm root in Northern India. Kings, nobles, princes, merchants, householders and the general mass to a great extent had become devout followers of the great religio-reformist movement of 6th century B. C. King Bimbisāra of Magadha, Pasenadi of Kosala, the Vajjis of Vesālī, the Mallas of Kusinārā & Pāvā, the Sākyas, the Moriyas and the Koliyas of Nepal Terai region, the wealthiest merchant Sudatta Anāthapiṇḍika of Sāvatthī, the topmost physician Jīvaka of Rajagaha and many other prominent persons adopted the new religion propounded by the Buddha and became his ardent followers. In the *Mahāvagga* it is recorded that some eleven *nahutas* (myriad) persons of Magadha along with their king Bimbisāra declared themselves as the devotees of the Buddha on the occasion of his very first visit at Laṭṭhivanuyyāna (Modern Jeṭhiyana) in Rajagaha.[4] The great personality, supernatural achievements, deep philosophy and the mode of life par excellence that the Buddha embodied had been successful to leave a lasting impact on the minds of the people of India. Records are replete with the accounts in the Pali *Tipiṭaka* that whenever and wherever the Buddha went and had the occasion for discourse, he was very warmly greeted by the people and innumerable persons became his devotees. After the passing away of the Great Master his Saddhamma went on flourishing and reached its zenith when it received the royal patronage of the great Buddhist king 'Dhammiko Dhammarājā' Asoka. The great task of propagating the Religion in the country and evangelising other countries outside India had been fulfilled by this king. Buddhism got its access in the other parts of the world on the one hand and on the other its root went very deep in the country of its origin. We are not concerned at the moment to discuss the religious efforts that Asoka did for the Dhamma and Vinaya of the Buddha. The only fact that we should bear in mind is that Asoka became out and out a Buddhist both in his faith and behaviour.

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[1] D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 6-7.

[2] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[3] Cf. *Mahāvagga* (Nalanda), pp. 80-81; *Dīghanikāya* (Nalanda), p. 14 etc. The word *rupiyā* or rupee is derived from *rūpa* (marks). Cf. Rupiyachaḍḍaka-bhikkhu, C. S. Upasak, *Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms*, p. 191.

[4] *Mahāvagga* (Nalanda), p. 36.

Religion often occupies an important position on the surface of human behaviourism. The religious heritage or bias is reflected through manifold ways and means in the society. Kings of all countries have been zealous to imprint their religious bias mostly on their coinage and also on their epigraphic records in stones or metals. Religious or theological aptitude of a particular king can be deduced from a study of numismatics or other archaeological or literary materials.

We have said above that the punch-marked coins bear some hundreds of symbols comprising the figures of birds, animals, solar and planetary symbols, geometrical designs and even abstract human figures etc. Do these marks speak of some religious sentiments or have they been arbitrarily designed ? In the following pages we would endeavour to explore their connotations.

There are evidences to suggest that some punch-marked coins belonged to the days of the Buddha or even earlier. Such types of coins continued to be accepted as legal tender in Indian society for a number of centuries till the new types of coins bearing the legends and figures of the Greeks or Indo-Greek kings were introduced sometime in the 2nd century B. C. The Indo-Greeks could establish their rule and finally settled in India only when the mighty Mauryan empire became disintegrated and collapsed. The period of these punch-marked coins may, therefore, be roughly placed between 600 B. C. to 100 A. D.

110107

There are numerous symbols on the punch-marked coins and it is indeed a difficult task to determine which of them are exclusively Buddhist symbols. We believe that some of these symbols do have something to do with Buddhism since it was a very powerful religion of the period. In the following pages we would make an attempt to point out some.

The most common mark on the punch-marked coins is the shape of early Brāhmī letter *Ma*— 𑀫 . Numismatists have called it 'taurine' as they could not properly make out the meaning of this shape. It is remarkable to note that this very symbol has figured at the corners of the Separate Rock Edict I of Asoka in Jaugada.[1] In the copper-plate Inscription of Sohgaura[2] also, which is believed to have been pre-Asokan by some scholars, this symbol appears. Similarly when the vases from the Piprahawa Stūpa were opened, some four golden leaves figuring like *Ma* of early Brāhmī were found along with the relics of Lord Buddha.[3] In our opinion this symbol shaped like the Brāhmi letter *Ma* is the first syllable of the term *Maṅgala*. *Maṅgala* is a very popular word in Pali and is used there in the sense of auspicious, lucky, prosperous, festive etc. In the *Khuddakanikāva Aṭṭhakathā* this term is explained thus : *Manaṃ galanti sattā ti maṅgalāni* i. e., it goes straight to the mind of the people, hence *Maṅgala.*[4] In the *Suttanipāta* the famous Mahāmaṅgala Sutta occurs in which the forms of *Maṅgalas* have been elucidated.[5] There it is advised that good persons should practise them for the betterment of their livings. In his edicts Asoka has also enumerated the *Maṅgalas*[6] and called them *Dhamma-maṅgalas*. Observance of the *Dhamma-maṅgalas* by his subjects and his own relatives was the pious wish of this great Buddhist king. As a true and devout Buddhist he very well understood the meaning of the *Maṅgalas*. The letter *Ma* or *Maṃ* of the term *Maṅgala* was of some significance when he used this first syllable thus— 𑀫 thrice in his Separate Rock Edict at Jaugada. In our opinion this symbol might have been

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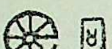
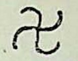
1. E. Hultzsch, *CII*, Vol. I, plate facing p. 116.
2. *JASB* (Proceedings), 1894, p. 84; Ibid., 1907, pp. 509 ff; *ABORI*, Vol. XI, p. 32; *EI*, Vol. XXII, p. 1; *IA*, Vol. XXV, p. 261; *IHQ*. Vol. X, p. 54; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 85.
3. *JRAS*, 1898, p. 573; P. C. Mukherjee, *Antiquities in the Tarai Nepal*, p. 43.
4. *Khuddakanikāya Aṭṭhakathā* (R), p. 123.
5. *Suttanipāta*, Sutta No. 16 Also in the *Khuddakapāṭha*, Sutta No. 5.
6. Rock Edict IX.

pre-Asokan and Asoka simply popularised it on his edicts and coins. The punch-marked coins bearing five symbols on the obverse are usually attributed to the Mauryan period, where this *Ma* like symbol occurs. On some of the punch-marked coins *Ma*, the symbol of *Maṅgala* appears along with a *Chakra* or wheel with eight spokes—  [1]. The *Chakra* may be the representation of the well known *Dharmachakra* or the wheel of Law of the Buddhists. The eight spokes of the *Chakra* may signify the Eightfold Path or the Middle Path (*Aṭṭhaṅgika magga* or *Majjhimā paṭipadā*) of the Buddha. It is also noteworthy that another Buddhist king, the Indo-Greek, Menander (Milinda), has also given this figure of *Chakra* with eight spokes on one of his copper coin varieties.[2]

The *Svastika* (both the forms as given below) is another mark which is often noticed on the punch-marked coins. Probably this is the oldest auspicious sign handed down till today for centuries from the hoary past in the Indian society. The sign of *Svastika* (both forms) appears on the seals of Mohenjodaro also.[3] It next appears on the epigraphs of Asoka in his Separate Rock Edict I at Jaugada along with the Mangala symbol discussed above.[4] It is also interesting to note that the ***Svastika*** sign is also found in the vases of Piprhawa Stūpa mentioned above. Two such gold leaves with *Svastika* symbol were there.[5]

In our endeavour to make out its meaning, palaeography may come to our help. The earliest script of our country is Brāhmī which appears for the first time on the Asokan inscriptions and that also in its finished form.[6] It is also conjectured that the Indus Valley Script might have been the parent of this script.[7] The form of *Svaśtika* if given to be interpreted through the Brāhmī, is made of four letters of *Pu*— . When the syllable *Pu* is written in early Brāhmī and placed together from all the directions-up, down, right and left, it would become a *Svastika*— 卐  ; and the syllable *Pu* can be distinguished from any angle.[1] The syllable *Pu*, in our opinion, is the first syllable of the word *Puṇya* (*Puñña* in Pali). It is very likely that this *Svastika* symbol might have carried some auspicious meaning even in the pre-Buddhistic days. *Puṇya* or *Puñña* means merit, meritorious action, virtue etc. In Pali literature *Puñña* is always regarded as the foundation and condition for heavenly birth and future blissful state, the enjoyment of which depends upon the amount of *Puñña* or merit accumulated in the former existence. With reference to this life there are especially three qualities contributing to merit, viz. *Dāna* (liberality), *Sīla* (moral conduct) and *Bhāvanā* (contemplation). The opposite of *Puñña* (Skt. *Puṇya*) is *Apuñña* or *Pāpa* (demerit). According to Buddhism *Puñña* is the basis of a 'good life'. It is evident from the Pali literature that the Buddhists have always been advised to promote the 'good' in order to acquire *Puñña* or merit. A devout Buddhist as he was, Asoka has preached the 'good' throughout his edicts in order to earn merit. He took up the *Svastika* symbol of *Puñña* out of religious and moral zeal and he got it inscribed along with his *Dhammalipi* at Jaugada. The punch-marked coins which bear the *Svastika* symbol may belong to the time of Asoka, and probably to popularise this *Puñña* symbol of *Svastika* he got it marked on his coins which were undoubtedly the punch marked type of coins.

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[1] Cf. John Allan, *BMC, AI*, Plate IX. 4.

[2] A. Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, plate XII. 13. [The identity of the wheel on a coin type of Menander with the Buddhist *Dharmachakra* Though suggested sometimes is yet to be established. This wheel on the other hand, may stand for the one on which Ixion was condenmed to revolve permanently in Hades according to Greek mythology. In view of the predominantly Greek nature of the coin-depictions of Menander, the supposed Buddhist character of the wheel, on his specie, seems to be extremely doubtful. *JPS.*]

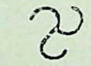
[3] Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization*, p. 374, plate No. 114, Nos. 500-515.

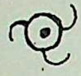
[4] Op. cit.

[5] Op. cit.

[6] Cf. C. S. Upasak, *History and Palaeography of Mauryan Brāhmī Script*, pp. 14-22.

[7] Ibid., p. 5.

The other mark which is noticed on the punch-marked coins is the triascle—  . This symbol may also be attributed to the Buddhist tradition. This mark probably represents the 'Three Jewels' or *Triratna* of the Buddhists, viz, Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. In the Pali Texts the term *Triratna* or three jewels is often quoted with great reverence. In the *Suttanipāta*[2] and also in the *Khuddakapāṭha*[3] the famous *Ratana-sutta* has preached in praise of these three jewels. The three *Ratnas* or the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha have been referred to by Asoka with great reverence in his famous theocratic Bhabru Slab Edict[4] (line 2).

Asoka has also got this symbol of triascle inscribed in the Minor Rock Edicts discovered from Erraguḍi, Jatinga Rameshwar and Rajula Maṇḍagiri.[5] Similarly the gold leaves representing the triascle or *Triratna* were also enshrined along with the relics of the Buddha in the Piprahwa Stūpa.[1] This symbol of triascle appears on the punch-marked coins sometimes alone and sometimes along with other marks.[2] Another variety of this symbol is represented thus—  [3] Sometimes it appears with the elephant. It is well-known that the elephant is regarded as one of the symbols representing the Buddha. The elephant's imprint on a gold leaf was found from the Piprahawa vases along with other auspicious symbols.[4] On the Kalsi Rock Edict of Asoka a line scratch of elephant is noticed wherein the word *Gajatame* (Elephant par Excellence, i. e. Buddha) is incised.[5] Similarly a full figure of elephant is hewn out of the rock near the Asokan edict at Dhauli in Orissa.[6] The triascle with the elephant on the punch-marked coins provides us a solid support for suggestion to regard it as a Buddhist auspicious symbol and leaves little doubt for any other interpretation.

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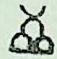
[1] Ibid., pp. 110-111.

[2] *Suttanipāta*, Sutta No. 13.

[3] *Khuddakapāṭha*, Sutta No. 6.

[4] E. Hultzsch, *CII*, Vol., p. 172.

[5] Ibid., p. 180.

A number of punch marked coins bear the so—called 'hill symbol with cresent', which is usually represented thus—  Some minor varieties of this symbol are also noticed. It has been interpreted in many ways. K. P. Jaiswal has shown a great ingenuity in interpreting it. Basing his conclusion on far fetched palaeographic evidence, he has interpreted it as an abbreviation of Chandagutta (Chandragupta), the founder of the Mauryan empire. He believes the top crescent to be *Chandra* and the remaining the hill-like combination, to be *gutta*—the upper loop for letter *Ga* and the lower two for *tta* in Brāhmī.[7] The interpretation of Jaiswal looks fascinating but it is undoubtedly a highly speculative inference. We have reason to believe that this symbol is the representation of three full size stūpas crowned with a half size stūpa like a *Chatra* at the top. The Buddhist texts, particularly the Pali texts are replete with the references to the stūpas or *chaityas* with their religious significance.[8] It has been a

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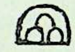
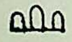
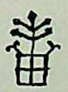
1. Op. cit.
2. John Allan, *BMC, AI*, Plate I XXVI, 98 and II-1, 3, VII-2, 18 etc.
3. Ibid., Plate X.18, V-7, 15, 16 etc.
4. Op. cit.
5. Op. cit.
6. Op. cit.
7. *EI*, Vol. XXII, p. 3.
8. Cf. C. S. Upasak, Cetiyas in Pali Literature, *JBRS*, Vol. XLVII, Parts I-IV (1961) pp. 111-123.

Buddhist tradition to raise a stūpa enshrining the body relics of the Buddha or those of his disciples or even those of the arhatas. The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the *Dīghanikāya* relates the tradition of raising the stūpas enshrining the body relics of great persons like the Buddha or of a Chakkavatti (paramount) king.[1] The quarrel that arose amongst the kings on the distribution of the bone relics of the Buddha is also described there. Construction of stūpas on the relics of the Buddha was undoubtedly regarded as a meritorious act. In the *Mahāvaṃsa* it is said that Stūpa worship was popular in the country.[2] The three stūpa symbols on the punch-marked coins can well be associated with Buddhism. The three stūpas may probably be in the name of the three jewels—Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, as we have seen above with reference to the triascle symbol. The stūpas in ancient days used to be adorned with the *Chatra*.[3] The top crescent like mark may be the crown of the stūpa.

One of the varieties of this symbol is noticed as placed under one large stūpa thus—  .[4] A stūpa inside a stūpa is called *Kañchuka stūpa*. The most towering Sariputta stūpa at Nalanda is a *Kañchuka stūpa* built seven times by covering one stūpa with another without disturbing the earlier structures. The present form of the symbol on the punch-marked coins represents a *Kañchuka stūpa*. There were some other varieties of this symbol. Sometimes this is crowned with a peacock instead of a crescent mark and sometimes with some other animals and sometimes it remains without any crowning object. We also notice the mark of three separate stūpas along with an elephant figure thus  and an elephant.[5] This also may lead one to subscribe to our opinion that this symbol was concerned with the Buddhist tradition.

The punch-marked coins bearing the five symbols often include the mark of 'tree in railing'—  . It is needless to stress that tree worship was a pre-Buddhist tradition in Indian society as it also appears in the Indus Valley

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[1] *Dīghanikāya* (Nalanda), Vol. II, pp. 110-111.

[2] *Mahāvaṃsa*, Chapter V, Gāthā No. 82. cf. *Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā* (Nalanda), p. 169.

[3] Cf. The Sanchi Stūpa.

[4] *BMC, AI*, Plate XXXV. 78.

[5] *BMC, AI*, Plate XXXV, LXVIII-82.

Culture.[1] In the Pali literature we find the reference to *Rukkha-chetiyas.*[2] The Pipala tree under which the Buddha attained his Enlightenment at Bodh Gaya got the name of Bodhi tree and has been an object of veneration in the Buddhist world for centuries till today. Who knows if the introduction of the tree-in-railing on the coins was not first done by Asoka himself in honour of that tree ? Probably Asoka was the first king to introduce the tree-in-railing on the coins in honour of that sacred tree.[3]

There are many other marks on the punch marked coins which await our interpretations. Many marks mostly on the reverse side, might have been mercantile or mint marks. But local traditions, religious bias and such other factors might have been responsible for the imprints of so many objects on these most ancient coins of India.

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[1] Marshall, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 63-66.

[2] Cf. C. S. Upasak, Cetiyas in Pali Literature, *JBRS*, Vol., XLVII, pp. 111-123.

[3] [This is indeed a very interesting study of some symbols found on early Indian coins. Some of these are definitely known to be pre-Buddhist symbols. Others may also have been there Buddhists later adopted some of these symbols to suit their requirements. It is in this context only that the symbols discussed herein can be termed as Buddhist. The symbols on early Indian coins are found usually in groups. It would, therefore, be more pertinent to discuss them in their group context. Any attempt to isolate individual symbols from their particular group context is not likely to help explain reasonably the real nature and meaning of the symbology of the uninscribed punch-marked specie. *JPS.*]

NEW CLAY SEALINGS FROM KAUŚĀMBĪ

R. R. TRIPATHI

(**Pl. VII**)

Inscriptions, coins and sealings salvaged from the ruins of Kauśāmbī, Bhītā and the neighbouring region have revealed the names of several kings of the Magha dynasty which ruled over the Vatsa territory between 2nd and 4th century A. D. Among these the sealings of Vāsishṭhīputra Bhīmasena[1], Kautsīputra Śivamagha[2], Gautamīputra Śivamagha[3], Mahāsenāpati Rudramagha[4] and Gautamīputra Śrī Vijayamagha[5] are already known to scholars. A few sealings of some other rulers of this dynasty have also recently come to light. These are described below.

I

Clay sealing of Mahārāja Kautsīputra Praushṭhaśrī

Allahabad Museum S/R No. K/526, circular; diam. 3.5 cm.

(**Pl. VII. 1**)

The sealing has a bow with an arrow placed on it, at the top. Below the bow, there runs the horizontal legend *Rājñaḥ Kautsīputrasya Proshṭhaśriya*(*ḥ*) in the Brāhmī characters of about 2nd century A. D. On the extreme left, below the legend, there appears to be an object resembling a *yūpa* or a standard, then follows a goddess standing on a blossomed lotus flower. Her left hand rests on the hip and the right is lifted from the elbow point. To the proper left of the female there is a bull standing to left. Behind the bull, on the extreme right, there is again a pole-like object. Below the forelegs of the bull there are three balls. Barring minor variations all these devices occur on the known sealings of the Magha rulers. The legend on the sealing is in chaste Sanskrit and gives the name Kautsīputra Praushṭhaśrī though in the Bandhogarh inscriptions he is addressed as Kochhiputa Poṭhasiri.[1] According to these inscriptions Praushṭhaśrī was the son of Mahārāja Vāsishṭhīputra Bhīmasena and his known dates are 86, 87 and 88 most probably reckoned from the Śaka era of 78 A. D. Copper coins of this ruler are also available. The coin from Bhītā wrongly read by Marshall as Prashṭhasriya[2] actually belongs to this ruler.

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[1] *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 51, No. 27; also K. K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, pp. 36-37.

[2] Ibid., p. 37.

[3] *ASIAR*, 1911-12, No. 26, p. 51.

[4] Thaplyal, op. cit., p. 38.

[5] *JNSI*, XXXIV, Part I, pp. 70-71 and 74. Allahabad Museum S. R. No. K/517.

The Giñjā inscription of the year 52 of Bhīmasena,[3] the sealing described above and the coins indicate his sway over this region.

II

Clay sealing of Mahārāja Kautsīputra Bhadramagha

Allahabad Museum S/R No. 532; circular; diam. 3 cm.

(Pl. VII. 2)

At the top there stands a bull to left. Before the animal stands a female (goddess) in the same posture as found on the sealing of Praushṭhaśrī described above. On the extreme left is seen the portion of a post almost half of which has gone out of the flan. Below these devices lies the horizontal legend [*Ma**]*hārājasya Kautsīputrasya Śri-Bhadrama* in the Brāhmī characters of *circa* 2nd century A. D. After the last letter *ma* there are no traces of other letters; but it undoubtedly indicates the word *maghasya,* as the remaining part of the legend. Such indications are found even on his coins from different sites of the region.

Below the legend, on the left, there is a bow and arrow and five-arched hill on the right.

According to some scholars Bhadramagha was the third king of the Magha dynasty and the son of Poṭhasiri. Altekar[4] and other scholars[5] have identified him with Mahārāja Kauśikīputra Bhaṭṭadeva, the son of Mahārāja Poṭhasiri mentioned in the Bandhogarh inscriptions. But Motichandra does not accept the view that Bhadramagha and Bhaṭṭadeva are the names of the same person.[6] The discovery of the sealing described above confirms the view of Motichandra because both of them have different matriarchal appellations before their names. Bhaṭṭadeva is styled Kauśikīputra in the Bandhogarh inscription and Bhadramagha is called Kautsīputra in the sealing described above while Poṭhasiri, the father of Bhaṭṭadeva, is also named as Kautsīputra in his records and a clay sealing described earlier. As such Poṭhasiri and Bhadramagha appear to be real brothers. Therefore, under no circumstances Bhadramagha and Bhaṭṭadeva may be said to be the same person.

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[1] *EI*, XXXI, pp. 167 ff.

[2] *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 66.

[3] *ASR*, XXI; *EI.*, III, Pl. facing p. 306.

[4] *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, I, p. 155; *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 43.

[5] *EI*, XXVI, p. 299; K. A. N. Sastri (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, p. 261.

[6] *Kāśī Kā Itihāsa*, p. 72.

From sealings described above the problem of overlapping of dates between Poṭhasirī and Bhadramagha seems to have been solved. Poṭhasirī and Bhadramagha being brothers, appear to be independently ruling over the different parts of the territory because both of them bear the title Mahārāja in their records. The statement of Negi that Bhadramagha was really the founder of a new house at Kauśāmbī from where he dislodged the Bandhogarh chiefs or some other power, seems to be true.[1]

Bhadramagha's known dates from various inscriptions discovered at Kauśāmbī are 81, 83, 86 and 87.[2] His name also occurs on one of the earthen jars exhumed from the ruins of Kauśāmbī.[3]

Bhadramagha is also known from his coins found in plenty at Kauśāmbī, Fatehpur and the neighbouring region around these cities. All these show *that Bhadramagha was an indepentent ruler of Kauśāmbi* at the same time when Poṭhasiri was ruling over the territory lying to the south of the Vatsa region with his capital at Bandhogarh.

A clay sealing from Rajghat[4] bearing the legend *Rājñaḥ Kautsiputrasya Sri Śivamaghasya* indicates the probablity that Praushṭhaśrī, Bhadramagha and Kautsīputra Sivamagha were all brothers.

III

Clay sealing of Yuvārāja Navva.

This sealing also belongs to Allahabad Museum. S/R No. K/529 Oval; Diam. 3.4 cm. (**Pl. VII. 3**)

It bears a bow with an arrow at the top. Below this symbol there is the legend *Yuvarājasya Navvasya* in the Brāhmī characters of *Circa* 2nd-3rd

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1. J. S. Negi, *Some Indological Studies*, pp. 68-69.
2. *EI*, Vol. XXIV, p. 255; J. S. Negi, op. cit., p. 64; *EI*, XVIII, p. 163, No. III; *G. N. Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101-114.
3. *Indian Arehaeology* 1955-56 *A Review*, p. 20.
4. Thaplyal, op. cit., p. 37.

century A. D. in a straight horizontal line. Below the legend stands a bull to left. There are several thread marks visible on the back of the sealing.

The Museum preserves one more clay sealing (K/515) of *Yuvaraja Nava*, but the name *Navvasya* is obliterated. The devices, bow-arrow and bull, found on these sealings, resemble those found on the sealings of Magha rulers; but the goddess is absent here.

K. K. Thaplyal noticed a clay sealing having the legend *Rājña Navvasya* written in second or third century A. D. Brāhmī and flanked by a spear on the left and a *Yūpa* on the right. It was found at Rājghat and is presently housed in the Bharat Kala Bhawan Museum, B. H. U., Varanasi.[1]

It appears that one of the sealings described above was issued by him when he was only a *Yuvarāja*. The other found at Rājghaṭ was issued when he was a king (*Rājā*).

The copper coins bearing the legend *Nevasa* or *Navasa* may be attributed to the king whose name was Nava. There is similarity in the coinage of the Magha rulers and the coins of Nava. But in the absence of any substantial evidence he cannot be placed in the Magha lineage.

IV

Clay sealing of Māhārāja Śatamitra ?

Allahabad Museum S/R No. K/535; Circular; Diam. 3.2 cm.

(Pl. VII. 4)

The seal was impressed upon a lump of clay forming a deep round depression containing a bull standing to right attached to a *Yūpa* set up inside a railing before a standing female figure (goddess) on the extreme end. Her right hand is placed on the hip and the left one is lifted above. Behind the bull, near its hind legs, there appear to be three balls above which there is some indistinct symbol. Below all these devices, lies the horizontal legend *Mahārājasya Satamitrasya* in the Brāhmī characters of *c.* 2nd or 3rd century A. D. Below the legend there is a zigzag line resembling a snake.

The fourth letter in the legend seems to be *shya* which does not seem to be relevant in the existing context. It is definitely an error made by the scribe of the seal. Correctly it ought to be *jya*[1] or *ja* in order to have the correct reading of the legend.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 26-27, Pl. IV. 6.

The devices at the top of the sealing are the same as found on the clay sealings of the Magha rulers described above. But it would not be proper to affiliate Śatamitra with the lineage of Magha kings.

On the basis of Kauśāmbī coins, K. D. Bajpai has drawn up a list of 25 rulers with Mitra ending names. Śatamitra also finds a place in the above list.

On the reverse of the sealing is the representation of a fillet or thread to be attached to a document.

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[1] *Ja*, not *jya*, is required; for the correct form of the word should be *mahārājasya*, not *mahārājiyasya*. *AMS*.

ŚRĪVATSA SYMBOL ON EARLY INDIAN COINS

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

Some of the symbols and marks represented on early Indian coins are svastika, tri-ratna, nandipada, hollow cross, arched hill, wheel, sun, crescent-topped hill, taurine, tree in railing, fish-pair and śrīvatsa. Śrīvatsa is one of the most auspicious symbols of early Indian art. It was included among the Eight Auspicious symbols (*ashṭa-maṅgalas*) and was given due place in Jainism, Buddhism and Brahmanism all alike. We find its representation in Indian architecture, sculpture, epigraphy and pottery. Arched gateways,[1] chaitya windows,[2] āyāgapaṭṭas,[3] stone-umbrellas,[4] terracotta seals[5] and beaded necklaces[6] were decorated with this motif. Originating as an auspicious symbol Śrīvatsa culminated into a mark of the Great Person (*mahā-purusha-lakshaṇa*) when it was carved on the chest of the images of Jain Tīrthankaras[7] and Vishṇu.[8] This universal popularity of Śrīvatsa is well attested to by coins. The symbol as an auspicious sign has been fairly and variously represented on early Indian coins.

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[1] See Debala Mitra, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri* (New Delhi, 1960), pl. IIIA (Rānī Gumphā); Osamu Takta and Teruo Ueno, *The Art of India* (Tokyo, 1966), Vol. II, pl. 311 (Ananta Gumphā).

[2] See Sivaramamurti, C., Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, New Series, Vol. IV, (Madras, 1942), p. 60, pl. LXI. 2.

[3] See Smith, V. A., *The Jain Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura* (Varanasi, Reprint 1969), pls. VIII, IX and XI; Saraswati, S. K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture* (Calcutta, 1957), pl. XIII, fig. 59; Agrawala, V. S., *The Heritage of Indian Art* (New Delhi, 1964) fig. 23.

[4] See Agrawala, V. S., *Studies in Indian Art* (Varanasi, 1965), figs. 3 and 9.

[5] See Thapalyal. K. K., *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals* (Lucknow, 1972), pls. VIII. 9; XVI. 2; XVIII. 4; XIX. 3, 6; XXVII. 6; XXIX. 2; XXXII. 7, 8; XXXIV. 11.

[6] See Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar., *Monuments of Sānchī* (Calcutta, 1940), II, pl. XXXVII A; Agrawala, V. S., *Studies in Indian Art*, pl. III; *Ancient India*, No. 4, pl. XXXII. 12, 14 and sketch no. 50.1; Smith, V. A., op. cit. pl. LXXXVII.

[7] Agrawala, V. S., *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*, *Journal of U. P. Historical Society* (henceforth *JUPHS*), XIII (1950), pt. 1-2, pp. 36-58; See Bajpai, K. D., *Mathura* (Hindi), Lucknow, 1956, pl. 28.

[8] *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII. 11.13; *Raghu.*, X. 10; *Kumāra.*, VII. 43; *Amarakośa*, I. 43; *Mānasāra*, LV. 46; *Halāyudhakośa*.

Before we discuss the representation of Śrīvatsa symbol on ancient Indian coins, we must have an idea of its various forms. The earliest Śrīvatsa was roughly a pair of tri-ratnas one upon the other joined with their middle projections (Fig. 21). The flanking projections were sometimes incurved round or straight (Figs. 21 and 22 respectively), but the middle one was always straight and normally conical. On the ground of the art evidence we find that this form continues upto the Ist century A. D. Later on, the symbol took the form of two serpents, with raised hoods (Fig. 26) and some times with a line or pole in between (Fig. 29). The symbol of Śrīvatsa in all its forms described above is found included among the different motifs and symbols represented on early Indian coinage.

From its representation in Indian art the symbol of Śrīvatsa appears to have originated from human figure. The symbol with its five projections, three above and two below represents head, two hands and two feet of a human figure. Bas-reliefs from Sanchi[1], Sarnath[2] and Padmamudiyam (South India)[3] and the images from Kaveripakkam[4] and Enadi[5] (both in the Madras Museum) confirm this hypothesis.

The earliest representation of Śrīvatsa is said to have been found on the Indus Valley seals,[6] from where it reached Asia Minor and appeared alongwith other Indian symbols in hieroglyphic inscriptions of the 14th century B.C. at Boghaz koi.[7] We find its archaic representation in the anthropomorphic figures of the Copper Hoards from the Gangetic valley[8] and on some of the stone rings (*Śrī-chakras*) of the pre-Mauryan age found from Taxila to Patali putra.[9] From Śunga times onwards it is well represented in different branches of Indian art and archaeology as stated above.

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[1] See Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, pl. LXXXVIII (Stūpa No. 2, Railing pillar no. 75 a).

[2] See Agrawala, V. S., *Sāranāth*, pl. IV (Delhi, 1958).

[3] See *Ancient India*, No. 6, pl. XVA.

[4] See *JUPHS*, XIV, pl. I, fig. 1.

[5] Ibid., fig. 4.

[6] Sivaramamurti, C., op. cit., p. 83.

[7] Laroche, E; A Lost Civilization Emerges from the Past, *The UNESCO Courier* (February, 1963), p. 15.

[8] Sankalia, H. D., *Prehistory and Protohistory of India and Pakistan* (Bombay, 1962), fig. 110; Lal, B. B., 'Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a review of the problem,' *Ancient India*, No. 7, fig. 2. 1, 5, 8; Wheeler, R.E.M., *Early India and Pakistan*, fig. 26.1.

[9] Agrawala, V. S., *Indian Art* (Varanasi, 1965), p. 78; *Studies in Indian Art* (Varanasi, 1965), p. 14.

The very word 'Śrīvatsa' appears to be closely associated with the goddess 'Śrī-Lakshmī'. It means 'the child of Śrī' or the smaller or symblic form of Śrī. We know Śrī-Lakshmī is the goddess of progeny, plenty and prosperity. That is why the goddess is sometimes identified with wealth or money. Now in this context, we may well understand the association of Śrivatsa with Indian currency.

The symbol Śrīvatsa in Indian numismatics has a long and continuous standing. It started with the emergence of Indian coinage in the form of punch-marked coins, not later than the 6th century B. C., and continued up-to the 2nd century A. D.

On Punch-marked Coins

The earliest representation of Śrīvatsa is afforded by the earliest Indian coinage i. e , the punch-marked coins. One of the several silver punch-marked coins, recently found from Chandraketugarh (Bengal) and collected in the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University, bears a clear symbol of Śrīvatsa alongwith that of the wheel or sun (Fig. 1). The coin is roughly rectangular and assigned to the 6th-3rd century B. C.[1]

Similar Śrivatsa symbol, alongwith some other symbols like sun or wheel, arrow, fish-pair, etc. had already been noticed by R. E. Mortimer Wheeler on a silver punch-marked coin found from the excavations at Chandravalli (Mysore) in 1947.[2]

One such coin in Punch-marked silver has also been included in Allan's *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India*, although the upper portion of the symbol has gone out of the flan, the idea of its full form is quite evident.

A solitary example of Śrīvatsa symbol on a copper punch-marked coin is also to be mentioned here. The coin found from Pauni (Maharashtra) has been published by A. M. Shastri in *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVI (pp. 2-3, pl. III. 1). Shastri identifies five symbols on its obverse including one thick-leaved tree within railing. Although Shastri does not give the placing of these symbols on the coin, I think, the lower left corner is occupied by what he identifies with a thick-leaved tree. But the symbol does not have any square projection, supposed to be a railing. Obviously it is a Śrīvatsa (Fig. 9.) symbol. Since we find the representation of this symbol in the south on the silver punch-marked coins, already mentioned above, and on the Andhra coins (described below), its appearance on the copper punch-marked coins supports its popular tradition there.

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[1] Personally seen in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta, on 23. 12. 1974.

[2] *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 290, fig. 50, 8.

On Taxila Coins

Some uninscribed square coins from Taxila represent many symbols. Their obverse bears on it the motif of Śrivatsa alongwith the hill and nandipada[1] (Fig. 2). These die-struck coins are dated to the 2nd century B. C. Four such coins are in the collection of the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta.[2]

On Pañchāla Coins

Many coins of Mitra dynasty found from Kauśāmbī[3] and Ahichchhatrā[4] also depict the symbol of Śrīvatsa. These circular copper coins represent on the obverse a set of three symbols :

(1) Śrīvatsa in the middle (2) tree in railing to left, and (3) an unknown symbol to right; and the name of the king below in Brāhmī characters. These symbols figure on the coins of Varuṇamitra, Sūryamitra, Jayamitra, Phālgunimitra, Agnimitra, Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra, Dhruvamitra, Bṛihaspatimitra, Indramitra, Vishṇumitra, etc. (Fig. 3).[5]

Some of these coins represent Śrīvatsa also on the reverse. The coins of Phālgunimitra depict on the reverse Lakshmī standing on a lotus and holding a lotus bud in her right hand and left hand akimbo. To left there is a symbol of Śrīvatsa again represented.[6] Coins of Bhānumitra and Viśvapāla also represent the symbol on the reverse (Fig. 4).[7] These coins of Mitra kings have been assigned to the Ist century B. C.

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[1] See Allan, J., *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India* (hereinafter *BMC, AI*), pl. XXXIV. 8 and 10.

[2] See Rai Choudhury, C. R., *A Catalogue of Early Indian Coins in the Asutosh Museum*, Pt. I (Calcutta, 1962), p. 42, pl. X. 3.

[3] Sharma, G. R., *The Excavations at Kauśāmbī* (Allahabad, 1960), p. 19 and 80.

[4] *Ancient India*, No. 4 (1953), p. 137, fig. 9, 5.

[5] *BMC, AI*, pl. XXVII. 8-10 (Sūryamitra); 11-14 (Phālgunimitra); pl. XXVIII. 4-7 (Bhūmimitra); 8-12 (Agnimitra) and 18-21 (Jayamitra).

[6] See Brown, C. J., *The Coins of India* (Calcutta, 1922), pl. I, fig. 4.

[7] Allan, op. cit., pp. cxvii-cxix.

On Audumbara Coins

Recently, two rare Audumbara coins of 'Bull-Elephant' type, belonging to the private collection of J. Lingen of Bergambacht, the Netherlands, have been published by K. K. Dasgupta.[1] These circular coins, struck in silver, bear Brāhmī inscriptions on them and are palaeographically assignable to the first century B. C. The obverse and reverse of these coins represents a humped bull and an elephant respectively. Over the figure of the bull there is a symbol of svastika, which, according to Dasgupta puts these coins into a rare variety. Dasgupta has, however, omitted another symbol of Śrīvatsa in front of the elephant on the reverse of these coins. The upper triangular portion of the symbol in the form of a tri-ratna, is very clear on both the coins. The side projections of the symbol are incurved on the one[2] (Fig. 7) and quite straight on the other coin (Fig. 8).[3] The right lower portion alongwith the joining line on the latter is also very clear (Fig. 8),[4] while its left portion is covered with the first letter of the Brāhmī legend in round above. The presence of the lower portion of the symbol on the first coin, can also not be denied, though it is not quite distinct.

The variety of these coins is not only important for its being a rare type but also for representing the most auspicious symbols of the time, svastika and Śrīvatsa together. We know, the elephant is closely associated with the goddess Śrī,[5] and that is why she is termed 'Gaja-Lakshmī'. In this context the association of Śrīvatsa, a symbolic form of Śrī (as explained above) with an elephant, is quite significant.

On Mathura Coins

The symbol of Śrīvatsa also appears on some Mathura coins issued by Purushadatta, Rāmadatta, Gomitra II, and Śeshadatta. Allan's *Catalogue of the*

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[1] *JNSI*, XXXVI, pp. 54-56, pl. IV. 1, 2. Also Dasgupta, K. K., *A Tribal History of Ancient India : A Numismatic Approach* (henceforth *THAI*, Calcutta, 1974), p. 306, pl. IX, 24x. [What appears to the author of this paper as Srivatsva in front of the elephant of the specie concerned is actually a small trident. The occurrence of trident on the coins of the Audumbaras is but natural in view of the Śaiva affiliation of the issuers. The relevant drawings (figs. 8-9) are inaccurate. *KKDG*].

[2] Ibid., pl. IV. 1.

[3] Ibid., pl. IV. 2.

[4] Ibid., pl. IV. 2.

[5] *Śrīsukta*, 3 : *hastināda prabodhinīm*, delighted by the trumpeting of the elephants; Cf. *Vishṇudharmottaram*, III. 82. 7, 10.

Indian coins in the British Museum, Ancient India, contains as many as five such coins, one of Purushadatta and two each of Rāmadatta and Gomitra II. On all these coins the centre is occupied by a standing and facing female figure whom Allan has identified with Lakshmi, and the symbol of Śrīvatsa occurs to her left.[1] One coin of Rāmadatta represents the symbol also on its reverse.[2] Allan has assigned these coins to *c*. 200-50 B. C.

Two such Mathura coins, found from Sankisā, have recently been published by. K. K. Thapalyal.[3] One of them contains a legend *Rajño Śeshadatasa* in Brāhmī characters of Ist century A. D., and represents on its obverse the above described goddess, and to her left occur three symbols arranged vertically a crescent, a Śrīvatsa and a nandipada.[4] The other coin is apparently similar in depiction. All the three symbols are leaning towards the central figure. The coin bearing only the last two letters *ta* and *sa* of the legend is also suggested to belong to a king of the same dynasty to which Rāmadatta and Śeshadatta belonged.[5]

The symbol of Śrīvatsa on these Mathura coins appears in different forms. On the coins of Purushadatta and Rāmadatta it is in the most archaic form (Fig. 18), but on the coin of Śeshadatta, though highly conventionalized, it appears like a tree of five leaves (Fig. 23). The coin described in the last represents Śrīvatsa in the form of two tri-ratnas placed one upon the other. A coin of Rāmadatta depicts the symbol on the obverse quite similar to that in the middle of the Pañchāla trio-symbol i. e., the upper portion in the shape of a tri-ratna but the lower in the shape of a straight horizontal line (Fig. 24). The symbol on the coins of Gomitra II appears like a pair of snakes, face to face, with a vertical pole in between (Fig. 29).

On Āndhra—Sātavāhana coins

From the excavations of Chandravalli in Mysore state (now Karnatak) during 1947, some inscribed copper coins of the Āndhra-Sātavāhana feudatories have come to light. On the grounds of palaeography these coins are assignable

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1. See Allan, op. cit., pls. XXIV. 1 and XXIV. 5. 10.
2. Ibid., pl. XXIV. 10.
3. Coins from Sankisā, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (herein after *JNSI*) XXXVI, pp. 8-19.
4. Ibid., p. 11, pl. I. 5.
5. Ibid., p. 12, pl. I. 6.

to the later half of the Ist century B. C.[1] These coins represent Śrīvatsa symbol on the reverse, sometimes in a larger shape occupying the whole space prominently (Figs. 5-6)[2] and sometimes in a smaller size alongwith other symbols of six-arched hill surmounted by the crescent, nandipada, svastika, fish-pair and vaijayantī (Fig. 12).[3] On one coin the prominent figure in the centre is the tree in railing, nandipada and svastika to left and Śrīvatsa and vaijayantī to right (Fig. 13).[4] The small variety of the symbol is also found above a horse standing to right on the obverse of a coin which according to Rapson, might be assigned to Hārītiputra.[5] The form of Śrīvatsa symbol on all these coins is the earlier one described above

Similar coins of Prakaśaśiva Sebaka from Hyderabad and Sātakarṇi from Koṇḍāpur and Panigiri have been published by Mirashi who describes the symbol as resembling Brahmi *yya* (Fig. 30).[6] Three coins, two round and one square, with the legend *saha-Talavarasa* also depict the similar motif.[7]

The symbol in the form of two tri-ratnas, one upon the other, also appears above the back of an elephant on a copper coin which, on the basis of its legend, *Kausikipu*, has been attributed by Mirashi, to Kausikiputra Sātakarṇi, probably one of the later Sātavāhana kings[8] (Fig. 31).

On Kuṇinda Coins

The Kuṇinda coins also represent many symbols. These include arched hill, nandipada, svastika, tree in railing and vaijayantī. These symbols occur on the reverse side. On the obverse we find a deer before a standing goddess. In between the horns of the deer there is a symbol of Śrivatsa (Fig 11). This symbol is found on some silver and copper coins of Amoghabhuti.[9]

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[1] *Ancient India*, No 4 (1947-48), p. 289.

[2] Ibid, pl. CXXVIII. 25, 33, 35. Also see Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, the Andhra Dynasty Western Kshatrapas*, pl. VIII. 207, 208.

[3] *Ancient India*, No. 4, pl. CXXVIII. 15. cf. Rapson, op. cit., pl. VIII. 236.

[4] *Ancient India*, No. 4, pl. CXXVII. 20.

[5] Rapson, op. cit., p. 25, no. 105, f. n. 1, see pl. V.

[6] *JNSI*, VIII, II, pp. 107-09, pl. VII, 1, 4.

[7] Ibid., XV, II, pl. VI, 3-5.

[8] Ibid., VIII, II, pp. 116-18, pl. VIII A. 1.

[9] See Allan, op. cit., pls. XXII. 1-16; XXIII. 1-3; Dasgupta, *THAI*, pp. 91-93, 101, pls. II, cN 43, 44; III, cN 45-52. Sircar, D. C., *Studies in Indian Coins* (Delhi, 1968), pl. III, 12-13.

The symbol on such inscribed and round coins appears to be of a different shape. It is in the form of a pair of serpents with raised hoods, face to face. On one specimen, however, the symbol also consists of the vertical pole or line in between the two flanking snakes.[1] The symbol has been described by some numismatists as a nāgamudra.[2] These Kuṇinda coins have also been dated to *c.* Ist century B. C. Five copper and two silver coins of Amoghabhūti, representing Śrīvatsa are in the collection of the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta.[3]

On Kulūta Coins

Of a somewhat later date, perhaps of the first or second century A. D., are the coins of the Kulūtas, the eastern neighbours of the Udumbaras, in the Kulu valley of the Kangra district,[4] which also represent many ancient Indian symbols including Śrīvatsa. One such silver coin of the Kulūta king Vīrayaśa depicts on its obverse an arched hill with nandipada above, svastika to left and Śrīvatsa to right (Fig. 14).[5] The shape of the symbol is again different. It consists of a pole flanked by the two serpents, face to face, which is quite similar to one occuring on the coins of Gomitra II of Mathura already described above.

On Yaudheya Coins

Śrīvatsa occurs on the Yaudheya coins in three varieties. The first in the form of a pair of tri-ratnas with an extention of the middle line towards below, appears on the obverse of a coin.[6] The second variety, a pair of snakes, face to face, appears on the reverse of the Kārttikeya type. The type depicts in the centre a dear to r., tree in railing on r. a hill surmounted by a nandipada on l. and Śrīvatsa alongwith another symbol like the letter *va* in Brāhmi above (Fig. 27).[7] Sometimes a third symbol of Svastika also comes in between the two described above.[1] The third variety of Śrīvatsa with an addition of a vertical pole in between the snakes occurs on some coins on r. with another symbol of śankha on l. and a female figure in the middle (Fig. 29).[2]

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[1] See Allan, op. cit., pl. XLIII. 13.

[2] Allan, op. cit., p. *c*., Coomaraswamy, A.K., 'Indian Architectural Terms', *Journal of American Oriental Society*, XLVIII, 3, p. 270; Rapson, op. cit., pl. VIII. 207; Agrawala, V. S. 'Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra', *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 114.

[3] Rai Chaudhury, C., op. cit., p. 41, pl. X. 2.

[4] Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1 (Delhi, 1955), p. 476. Also Dasgupta, *THAI*, pp. 71-72, 77-78.

[5] See Allan, op. cit., pl. XVI. 4; Dasgupta, *THAI*, pp. 77-78, 81, pl. II, cN 37.

[6] See Allan, op. cit., p. 266, pl. XXXIX. 5; Dasgupta, *THAI*, p. 201, cN 107ab.

[7] Ibid., p. 273 no. 68; ibid., (Variety D) p. 206.

On Ujjain Coins

The Kasarwad hoard of Ujjain coins, reported by Altekar and Diskalkar includes three square copper coins depicting Śrīvatsa symbol in its archaic form; on one coin the symbol occupies the central position with tree in railing to left and a human figure to right (Fig. 32).[3] Another coin represents only two symbols, Śrīvatsa on l. and tree in railing on r. (Fig. 33).[4] The third coin depicts a horse to right, a human figure in front and the Śrīvatsa symbol above (Fig. 34).[5] The reporters have described the symbol as two Mauryan *yas* and *yya.*

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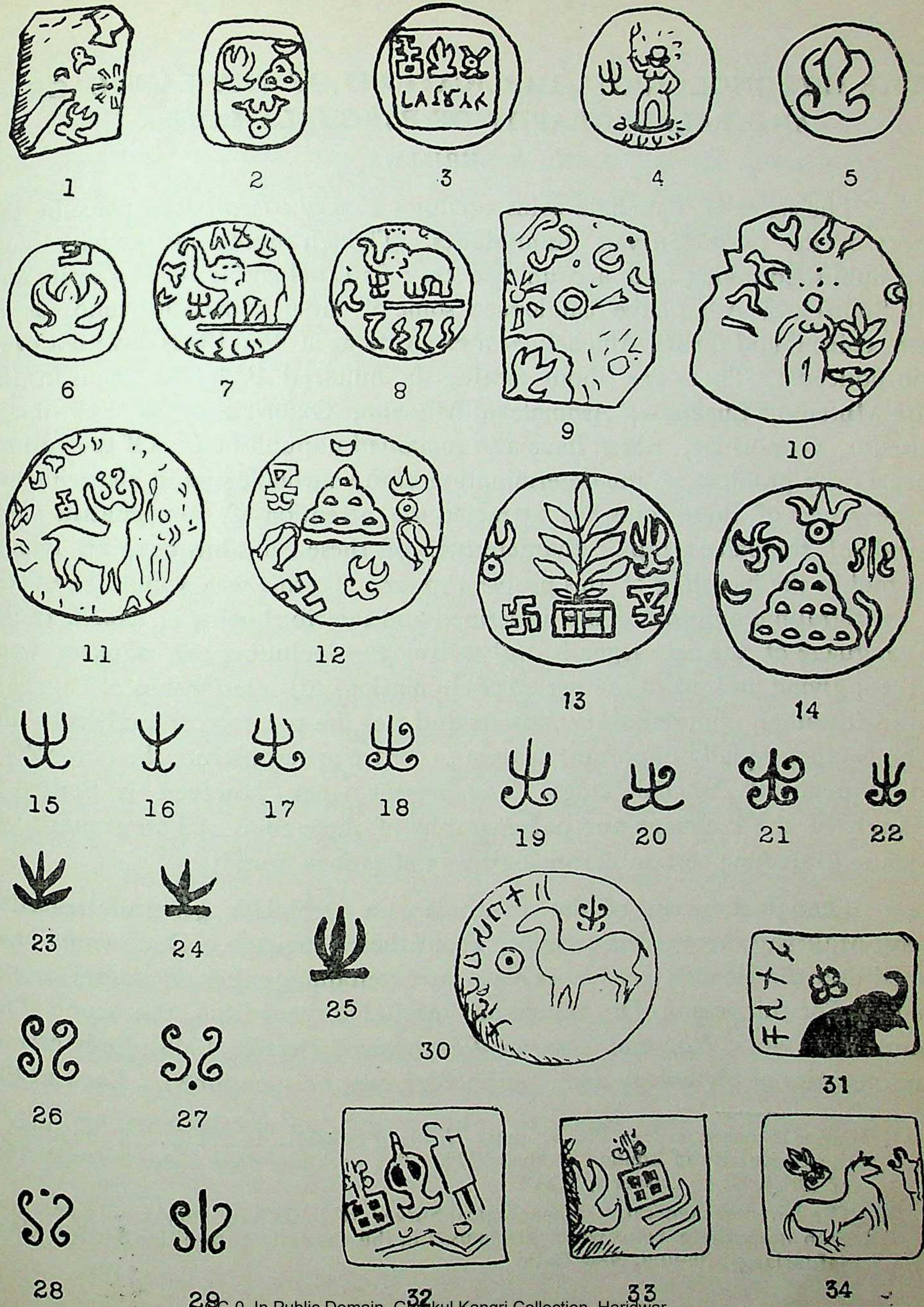
[1] Ibid., p. 274, no. 72; ibid. (Variety E).

[2] Ibid., p. 278, nos. 103-104, pl. XL. 7, 8; ibid., p. 210 (Variety C), cN 130.

[3] *JNSI*, VIII, P. 2, p. 103, pl. VI-10.

[4] Ibid., pl. VI-11.

[5] Ibid., pl. VI-13.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Śrīvatsa on Early Indian Coins

THE CHRONOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE LANGUAGE AND PALAEOGRAPHY OF PAÑCHĀLA COINS[1]

K. M. SHRIMALI

The series of Pañchāla coins occupies a very conspicuous place in the history of the post-Mauryan numismatics. Though numerous articles have been published taking into account the stray finds belonging to this series and both Smith and Allan have catalogued some of these coins but hundreds of these coins found during Ahichchhatra excavations of the 1940s have not even been noticed.[2] There are about another six hundred Pañchāla coins in the State Museum, Lucknow; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which have also remained unpublished. Of the various aspects, the problem of the determination of the chronology and the sequence of the issuers of these coins has attracted the attention of numismatists most. A study of the palaeographic characteristics of these coins has been an important tool in the handling of this problem so far. To this we would like to add (a) stratigraphic position of the uniscribed and inscribed coins in North India, (b) language of the coin legends, (c) metrology—including the data on wear and tear giving an idea of the period of circulation, (d) relationship of Pañchāla kings with other contemporary powers and (e) the typological analysis of the series as other equally important criteria in order to reconstruct the chronology and sequence of Pañchāla kings. The present paper, however, is limited to the study of the language and palaeography of these coins and an attempt will be made to deduce certain chronological implications from it.

Though the script of the Pañchāla coin legends is generally regarded as post-Mauryan there is less certainty about their language. One would have wished that the legends were more elaborate, containing other words but proper names. For this reason Dr. Mahendale excluded them from the scope of his monumental work, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits* (1948). Only certain characteristics of phonology and morphology can be mentioned. Even in this ṭask, there are serious limitations since there are no pronouns, numerals and verbs, and most of the twenty odd names are ending in *-a*. Morphology can take note of only declension. As for as declension is concerned, we have only one form : genetive singular. All the coins of Pañchāla kings reveal a uniform pattern—it is non-Sanskritic. The Sanskrit genetive ending *-sya* is invariably given in its Prakrit form *-sa* e.g. Sūyamita*sa* and not Sūryamitra*sya*, Bhūmimita*sa* and not Bhūmimitra*sya*, Vasusena*sa* and not Vasusena*ṣya* and so on. This is also generalised for stems in *-i* such as *na(ṁ)disa* corresponding to Sanskrit *Nandeḥ*. This is clearly a Prakritic feature and is comparable to inscriptions of Kshatrapas Nahapāna and Chashṭaṇa etc.

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[1] Paper is based on the Ph. D. thesis *History of Pañchāla to c. A. D. 550* submitted to the University of London in April 1976. The work was done under the supervision of Dr. J. G. de Casparis, SOAS.

[2] The Director General, Archaeological Survey of India had very kindly permitted us to study these coins which are housed in the Central Antiquities Section (CAS), Safdarjang Museum, New Delhi.

In phonology one notices a mixture of Sanskritic and Prakritic influences, e. g.

(a) the existence of conjunct consonants like *shṇu* (Vishṇumitra), *dhr* (Dhruvamitra), *jña* (Yajñapāla), *gni* (Agnimitra), *tra* (in various Mitra coins) and *dra* (Bhadraghosha and Rudraghosha) etc. are indicative of Sanskrit,

(b) if retention of a form like *shṇ* (as distinct from Prakrit form *ṇh* or *nh*, which is normal in Prakrit inscriptions) is Sanskritic, occurences like *Agi* (instead of Agni),[1] *Vaga* (instead of Vanga), *Ida*mitra (instead of Indramitra), *Pajāpati* (Prajapati), *Sūya* (for Surya), *Phaguni* (Phālguni) and *Śivanadisa* (for Śivanandisa) are clear manifestations of Prakritic influences. Though in certain cases one can argue that in names like Vangapāla or Nandi merely the *anusvāra* is omitted or has become invisible because spellings like वंग and नंदि are quite usual on coins and older inscriptions.

(c) the change of the cerebral sibilant *sha* into *sā* (Bhadra*ghosasa* and not Bhadra*ghoshasa*) but the retention of palatal sibilant *ś* in Śivanadisa, Śirisa and guttural *gh* (not becoming *h* or *kh*) are again pointers towards the mixture of Sanskrit and Prakritic tendencies.

(d) Absence of double consonants a prominent feature of non-Sanskritic languages is again quite conspicuous in the legends of Pañchāla coins. Double consonants are not normally written before the Gupta period—even if they were pronounced, which is possible However, most Prakrits use double consonants.

It follows from the above analysis that the language of the legends on Pañchala coins is far from being either pure Sanskrit or pure form of Prakrit.

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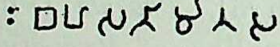
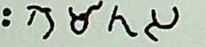
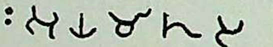
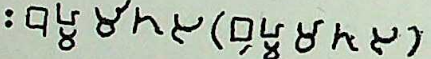
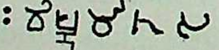
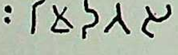
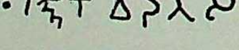
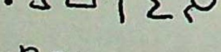
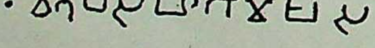
1. This feature is quite conspicuous in the specimens from the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

It clearly represents a transitional phase. In view of the extreme brevity of the legends, it is difficult to deduce any definite chronological conclusions. However, it can be said in general terms that the phonological features noticed above appear also in the inscriptions found in neighbouring areas like Mathurā, Kauśāmbī etc. and dated between the late second century B. C. and early second century of the Christian era. This is consistent with the stratigraphic position of the inscribed coins at most of the excavated sites in northern India, where no such coin has been reported from any level that could be dated before *c.* 150 B. C.

Palaeography : Though it is not feasible to draw precise chronological conclusions from what appear small stylistic differences in very short coin legends like those on the Pañchāla coins, yet the palaeographic characteristics of these coins do offer some general clues. Given the inherent limitations of the palaeographic evidence, any chronological deduction should include a comparison with the palaeography of those coins which have been relatively well stratified in recent excavations. In this context the testimonies of the Kauśāmbī and Sonkh excavations are very useful. At Kaūśāmbī, coins of Brihaspatimitra II have been found at *c.* 100 B. C. level[1] while at Sonkh the chronological sequence of kings is : Gomitra (*c.* 100 B. C.), Sūryamitra (*c.* 80-60 B. C.), Brahmamitra and Vishṇumitra (*c.* 60-20 B. C.), and Hagāmasha, Rāmadatta and Kāmadatta (late first century B. C. to early first century A. D).[2] The palaeography of the coins of these kings is :

Brihaspatimitra II	: 	(Bahasatimitasa).
Gomitra (II)	: 	(Gomitasa).
Sūryamitra	: 	(Sūyamitasa).
Brahmamitra	: 	(Brahmamitasa).
Vishṇumitra	: 	(Vishṇumitasa).
Rāmadatta	: 	(Rāmadatasa).
Kāmadatta	: 	(rājña Kāmadatasa).
	: 	(with *mahārājasa* title).
Kshatrapa Hagāmasha	: 	(Khatapasa Hagāmashasa).

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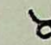
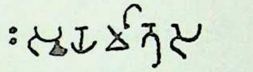
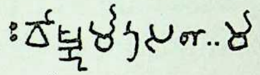
[1] G. R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kausambi 1949-50* (1969), p. 84.

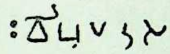
[2] We gratefully acknowledge the help of Prof. Herbert Härtel, who had conducted the excavations at Sonkh. Though the detailed report has not been published, he was kind enough to give these details when we visited him at the Museum of Indian Art, West Berlin in July, 1974.

It is quite conspicuous that the script of the first four is comparably older than that of the last four, especially comparaed with and  with .

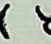
In this list there are two names which are to be found in the Pañchala list as well, viz. Sūryamitra and Vishṇumitra. Smith has mentioned the name of Brihaspatimitra, too, but his coin-types are not mentioned.[1] The palaeography of the coins of Suryamitra and Vishṇumitra is :

Sūryamitra  (Sūyamitasa as in the specimen CAS 66/1573)

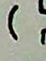
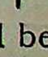
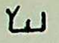
Vishṇumitra  (Vishṇumitrasa, British Museum specimen)

 (specimen from the Fitzwilliam Museum).

When a comparison is made between these legends and those of similar names on Mathura series, two features become clear :

(a) Vishṇumitra of Pañchāla belonged to roughly that period in which the form of *ma* was in the process of being evolved because we find traces of both triangular looped ( ) and circular looped () bases. There is, however, a close similarity in the forms of *shṇu* and *sa*. The king of Pañchāla may, therefore, be placed after *c*. 20 B. C.

(b) The script on the coins of Sūryamitra (Pañhcāla) appears to be far advanced in comparison with those of Sūryamitra of Mathura. Not only is there a marked change in the forms of *ma*, *ta* and *sa*, there is also to be noticed a great sense of stylization. This comparison helps to place Sūryamitra of Pañchāla not only after Sūryamitra of Mathura but even after Vishṇumitra of Pañchala, which is contrary to what Allan has done.

Regarding the two *ghosha* rulers, Bajpai[2] has noted that Rudraghosha flourished earlier than Bhadraghosha because of the angular *da* () in the coins of the former, whereas it has a circular form in those of the latter () It appears that they were not far removed from each other by a long period because there is not much difference in writing of *gha* in both cases, which is flat bottomed (). On the whole the palaeography of Bhadraghosha's coins (e.g. specimens of CAS 66/452, 454 and 1297) is nearer to what Dani has called coin series III and inscriptions of Mathura Kshatrapas, which are placed in the first century A. D.[1] Fortunately, there is some stratigraphic testimony, too, to substantiate this dating. During the 1940-44 excavations at Ahichchhatra, one coin of Bhadraghosha (No. CAS 66/651) was found in stratum IV of the plot AC III. The intial year of this stratum has been fixed at *c.* 125 A. D. Bhadraghosha must, therefore, be placed before that date.

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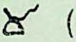
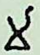
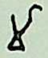
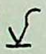
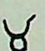
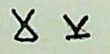
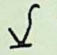
[1] Smith, *IMC*, I, p. 185.

[2] *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, p. 14.

Palaeographically the coins of Bhūmimitra, Agnimitra and Indramitra belong to the same period. However, unlike Allan, we would like to place them in a different order—Indramitra, Bhūmimitra and Agnimitra, largely because of gradual stylization which one notices in their coins. In this context, particular attention may be drawn to the forms of *mi* e.g.  (in Indramitra's CAS 66/580 and specimens from the British Museum),  (Bhumimitra, CAS 66/396 and British Museum specimens),  (in Agnimitra's coins from the British and Ashmolean museums) and  in some of Agnimitra's coins from the Fitzwilliam and British museums. Coin finds from Sahet-Mahet (Śrāvastī) also show that Indramitra and Agnimitra were not far removed in time as is suggested by Allan,[2] who has postulated the existence of three kings in between them. An important fact of significance is that not a single coin of these three Mitra kings has *ma* with circulor loop (), which is generally considered to be earlier than the triangular looped and its variations ().

Out of the Mitra kings, Dhruvamitra seems to be the earliest; Bhānumitra and Jayamitra come closer to Indramitra. Anamitra is to be placed in the first century A.D.[3] Varuṇamitra, even though not identical with Varuṇamitra of the Kauśāmbī stone inscription,[4] should be placed in the latter half of the first century B. C. and closer to the times of Vishṇumitra. This, too, is being suggested on the basis of comparative palaeography of the relevant inscriptions and coins. Phālgunimitra's coins are again marked by highly stylized forms of the *aksharas* e. g. in many cases they have very longish characters—a feature which is noticeable in some coins of Agnimitra as well (as in the specimens from CAS 66/1313 and the British and Ashmolean museums). Again the form of *mi* () is to be found in both cases. Phālgunimitra may, therefore, be brought closer to Agnimitra's days.

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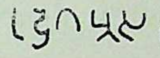
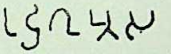
[1] A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, 1963, Pl. Va-VIb.

[2] Cf. P. L. Gupta, 'Some interesting coins from Sahet-Mahet', *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, 1951, pp. 139-143.

[3] Cf. K. D. Bajpai in *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 43-44.

[4] *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, 1934-35, p. 694.

Amongst the—*gupta* kings of Pañchāla, Jayagupta should find his place nearer to Damagupta, the near contemporary of Vaṅgapāla and probably one of the earliest kings of the line (*c.* 150-140 B. C.).[1] But Rudragupta, we think, can neither be placed very high on the list as has been done by Allan, nor along with Damagupta and Jayagupta simply on the grounds of similar name-endings—as has been done by Bajpai. The most significant clue for this assertion is the form of *da*. Never before the beginning of the first century A. D does one find a properly *round da with its mouth open to the right* as one notices in case of Rudragupta's coins e. g.  in the Ashmolean museum specimen and  in the specimen from the British Museum. It is true that one can find such a *da* in the Mathura inscriptions of Kanishka I (years 5-23, probably A. D. 83-101), and Vāsudeva (years 64-80, probably A. D. 142-158)[2] but they are not only very crude instances, the form also does not seem to have become universally accepted because the Allahabad museum inscription (Śaka year 23, probably A. D. 101) and the Sarnath inscription of Aśvaghosha (Śaka year 40, probably A. D. 118) and the coins of the Dattas of Mathura (first century A. D.) still have the older form of *da*, viz. with opening to the left.[3] The form of *dra* in Rudragupta's coins clearly betrays very developed characteristics and comes closer to the Gupta times. We are inclined to place this king in the second spell of Pañchāla supremacy, which we put after the Kushāṇa interlude but before the coming of the Guptas and which probably ended with Achyu.

The two—*nandi* kings—Śivanandi and Śrīnandi have been grouped together and placed nearer to the times of the Guptas.[4] In fact, Śrīnandi has been identified with Nandi of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta.[1] However, we think that Śivanandi was far removed from the Gupta times. Bajpai places him "in the second or third century A. D."[2] which obviously is far too wide a span. The writing on his coins, which is generally in two lines :

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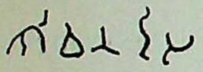
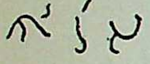
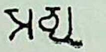
[1] One of his coin overstruck by Vaṅgapāla is in the Ashmolean Museum.
[2] A. H. Dani, op. cit., Pl. VIIIa.
[3] Ibid., Cf. also *supra.*, p. 4.
[4] K. D. Bajpai, *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 15, 19.


Śivanadisa


Śirisa (Cf. Lucknow Museum specimens No. 10932, 27874 and 27875).

cannot be placed later than *c.* A. D. 125 because of the remarkable similarities of its characters with those in the inscriptions of the Mathura Kshatrapas. Moreover, the form of *da* in his coins would also go against the idea of putting him nearer to the Gupta times. He may well have been the last Pañchāla king before the kingdom came under the sway of the Kushāṇas.

Achyu undoubtedly belongs to the first half of the fourth century A. D. The legend on his coins () can be easily compared with the writing on Gupta coins.[3] He is rightly identified with Achyuta of the Allahabad *praśasti.*

Conclusion

The foregoing study of the language and palaeography of Pañchāla coins shows :

(a) the beginning of the series cannot be placed before *c.* 150 B. C.

(b) Gupta ending kings were not far removed from the days of Vangapāla and Damagupta. However, Rudragupta must be placed nearer to the days of the Guptas.

(c) Of the Mitra kings (i) Dhruvamitra is the earliest, (ii) Varuṇamitra belongs to the latter half of the first century B. C. (iii) Vishṇumitra should be placed before Sūryamitra as well as after *c.* 20 B. C., (iv) Anamitra perhaps belonged to the early first century A.D., (v) Indramitra, Bhūmimitra and Agnimitra belong to one group in that order and that Indramitra and Agnimitra were not far removed from each other and (vi) Phālgunimitra must be placed after Agnimitra.

(d) There is reason to dissociate the two Nandi kings—Śivanandi being far removed from Śrīnandi. The latter is likely to be a contemporary of the Gupta king Samudra Gupta.

(e) Achyu was the last Pañchāla king and after him the kingdom became part of the Gupta empire.

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1. Ibid., Cf. also R. R. Tripathi, 'Some new and rare copper coins in the Allahabad museum', *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, p. 22.
2. Bajpai, op. cit., p. 15.
3. Cf. C. S. Upasak, 'Some salient features of Brāhmī on Gupta Coins', *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, 1961, pp. 216-40.

A UNIQUE SILVER COIN OF THE ĀRJUNĀYANAS

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

(PL. VII)

One of the prominent tribal peoples of ancient India, the Ārjunāyanas find mention for the first time in the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini.[1] The next reference is contained in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta where it is stated that they along with the Yaudheyas, Mālavas and others fully gratified the imperious commands of Samudraguta 'by giving all (kinds of) taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance' (*sarva-karadān-ājñākaraṇa-praṇām-āgamana-paritoshita-prachaṇḍa-śāsana*).[2] Although nothing is known about their history after Samudragupta's time, such late works as the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, *Chāndravyākaraṇa*, *Kāśikā*, *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* etc., seem to show their acquaintance with the name of the tribe. Like the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, and others they issued coins and on the basis of the combined testimony of the findspots of their coins and literary allusions their habitat has been looked for in the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra.[3]

Coins of the Ārjunāyanas are few in number and all of them are struck in copper.[4] Of late I have come to know of a silver piece belonging to the collection of Mr. J. Lingen of Bergambacht, the Netherlands. Photographs of some ancient Indian coins which Mr. Lingen sent to me for identification as well as for my perusal, one turned out to be that of the Ārjunāyanas. Made of base silver, the coin is corroded on its reverse. The obverse is, however, distinct and in fact in respect of preservation is better than the known specimens. It shows a humped bull standing to right facing before a curved object, which as we have shown elsewhere, is nothing but a sacrificial altar.[5] The legend in

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1. IV. 2. 53. The Ārjunāyanas along with the Audumbaras and others are included in the *Rājanyādi* class. It is generally believed that the major portion of the *Gaṇapāṭha*, if not the whole, was composed by Pāṇini who may be placed somewhere in the fifth century B. C.
2. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 8.
3. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India : A Numismatic Approach* (henceforth *THAI*), p. 19.
4. Ibid., p. 20ff.
5. Ibid., p. 24. The bull-before-*yūpa* device may be explained as representing the *śūlagava* (sacrifice of the bull) mentioned in the *Gṛihyasūtras*.

Brāhmī reads *Arjunayanana(m) jaya* and it is followed by four (or five) more Brāhmī letters, of which three are legible : *ma*, *ra* and *da*.

The size of the coin is 19.5 mm and weight 2.95 grammes or about 45.5 grains. **(Pl. VII. 5)**

The provenance of the coin is unknown. Mr. Lingen purchased it from a coin dealer in Delhi in 1974.

Elsewhere we have divided the coins of the Ārjunāyanas into two Classes:[1] Class 1 comprising pieces with standing figure on the obverse and the figure of a bull standing to left, and Class 2 consisting of issues carrying the figures of a bull on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse. As said above, the reverse of the specie under study is indistinct, but the figure of an elephant with upraised trunk are faintly traceable. If so, it belongs to Class 2 issues of the tribe.

Being of silver, the present piece offers the solitary example of the silver coinage of the Ārjunāyanas and hence adds the name of its issuers to the list of the tribal peoples who struck coins in silver, though relatively in small quantity. Of them the silver coins of the Kuṇindas are numerically larger than those of the Audumbaras and the remaining three peoples, the Vemakas, the Vṛishṇis and the Yaudheyas, had an extensive copper coinage, the Vṛishṇis are yet unrepresented by any copper specie. The Vemakas are credited with only one copper coin, apart from the aforesaid silver. In other words, the Ārjunāyanas are now known to be the sixth tribe to have issued silver coins.

The present coin is unique not only in respect of metal, but also in regard to the legend and the metrology. Whereas in earlier specimens the legend is *Ajunayanana(m) jaya*, here the said legend is followed by three more letters, the legend thus being more elaborate. Besides, the superscript *ra* of *Arjunayana* (Sanskrit *Ārjunāyana*) has been clearly discerned for the first time on the specie under study. From the point of view of metrology, the coin in question seems to differ from the hitherto known silver coins of the tribal peoples like the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas. By and large, these silver coins seemingly followed the weight standard of the later Indo-Greek coins (as well as the Scytho-Parthian issues which were in turn inspired by the Indo-Greek series) since most of them have an average weight in the neighbourhood of 36 grains, corresponding to 20

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1. Ibid., pp. 20-21.

ratis of Indian standard.[1] But the present silver coin of the Ārjunāyanas weighing about 45.5 grains or 25 *ratis* shows that it was struck on an old Indian standard of 24 *ratis*[2] like the so-called Kosalan variety of punch-marked coins hailing from Paila, Śrāvastī and other places of Uttar Pradesh.[3] The Ārjunayana as well as these Kosalan punch-marked coins may be reasonably described as *tripada-paṇa* of contemporay times.

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[1] A. N. Lahiri suggests that Indo-Greek silver coins of 36 grains were struck on an Indian weight standard of 20 *ratis*. See *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, I (1967-68), pp. 60-62.

Except a silver coin of the Chief named Dharaghosha, now in the Punjab Museum, the silver issues of the Audumbaras weigh between 31.5 and 37.5 grains. The silver coins of the Kuṇindas usually weigh between 30 and 36 grains (the Indian Museum pieces between 30.8 and 34.2 and the British Museum specimens between 29 and 38 grains. The Yaudheya coin weighs 26, while the Vṛishṇi specie weighs 32 grains. The weight of the Vemaka coin is not known. A statistical analysis of the weights of these silver coins shows that their issuers sought to make them conform to the later Indo-Greek hemidrachms weighing 36 grains. S. K. Chakravarty, however, thinks that the silver coins of the tribal peoples were based on the 'Indo-Persian' weight standard of about 40 grains (*Numismatic Supplement*, XLVI, p. 37).

[2] Gopala Bhatta on the authority of astronomical works described a Dharaṇa or Kārshāpaṇa as of 24 *raktikās* (i. e., *ratis*). See Colebrookes article on *Indian Weights and Measures* in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1801, p. 95. There are reasons to believe therefore that 24-*rati* coins were in currency at a given time and place. It is interesting to recall that Durga Prasad obtained 24-*rati* coins of the Paila class from Lucknow and Mathura and Cunningham procured a copper coin of the Ārjunāyanas at the latter place.

[3] These silver punch-marked coins are so called because they hail from Paila, Śrāvastī and other parts of ancient Kosala. It is tempting to discern some influence of the Persian currency on them (see *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXXII, pt. I, p. 9), but the area of their circulation being remote from that of the early Persian influence, the attribution of their weight to a Persian standard is unwarranted.

THE MITRAS OF PUNJAB

NISAR AHMAD

The existence of five Mitra rulers of Punjab, namely Bhānumitra, Ajamitra, Mahīmitra, Mahābhūtimitra and Agnimitra, are brought forth from the numismatic evidence. The coins of the earlier three Mitras are listed by Cunningham and Allan and that of the fourth Mitra king by the latter. The name of the last mentioned Mitra ruler is made out here by the present author on a coin of the British Museum.

I

The Mitra coins are made of copper and rarely of brass and they are round in shape. Most of the coins are manufactured by the die-struck technique but some of them by the stamp-anvil process[1]—the earlier phase of the die-struck technique. These specimens appear to have belonged to atleast two denominations. The one ranges in weight from 23.0 to 37.4 grs. and in size from .5″ to .8″, and they are of thick and thin fabric. The other varies in weight from 51.0 to 71.0 grs. and in size from .6″ to .75″. These pieces are found from Hoshiarpur. They have bi-scriptual legends, in Kharoshṭhī on the obverse and Brāhmī on the reverse.

The coins are generally characterised to have a standing male figure with spear in right hand and wavy line vertically on the obverse and elephant with or without rider facing to left on the reverse. Some of the coins have mostly elephant facing to left, trunk upraised or rarely elephant with trunk hanging on the obverse; Allan does not record the position of the trunk in both the cases. Their reverse consists of the four symbols : triangular head on legs, seven leafed tree-in-railing and wavy line. One specimen, although its illustration is blurred but, according to Allan, has elephant to left with trunk upraised on the obverse and elephant to right before tree-in-railing on the reverse. And, lastly, one piece bears elephant with trunk upraised on the obverse and multi-leafed tree in railing on the reverse.

Now the details of the coin-types of these Mitra kings can be mentioned below.

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[1] The coins which have incuse on one side appear to have been minted by the stamp-anvil process.

BHĀNUMITRA

The coins of this king, which are of copper and round in shape, can be classified on the basis of typology into three classes :

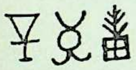
CLASS I

The coins of this class are divided into varieties according to the shape of the elephant device but, the coins kept in variety *C* are those which are either not illustrated or whose photographs are blurred and hence the exact shape of the elephant cannot be determined.

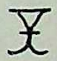
Variety A

Obv. : Elephant with trunk hanging, facing to left. Kharoshṭhī legend : *Raña Bhānumitrasa.*

Rev. :



Brāhmī legend: (-) *ño Bhānumita* - .

Note :—Allan draws the first symbol as  but the clear illustrations reveal the shape as drawn by us, cf. *BMCAI*, XV. 22, XVI. I and 2.

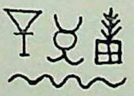
W. : 32.0. S. : .55″.

Ref. : *BMC, AI*, p. 127, no. 35.

Variety B

Obv. : Elephant with upraised trunk to l.; Kharoshṭhī legend : *Raña Bhānumitrasa*

Rev. :



Brāhmī legend : *Raño Bhānumita* (*sa*).

Note :—The wavy line is not noticed by Allan.

W. : 25.0, 33.5, 37.0, 37. 4 gr.

S. : .6″ (2 coins), .65″ (2 coins).

Ref. : *BMC, AI*, pp. 127-28, nos. 37, 38, 39, 40; pls. XV. 22 (pl. XV.19 is wrongly mentioned as the illustration of the coin of Bhānumitra); XVI. 1 (printed wrongly as XV. 1) and 2.

Variety C

Obv. : Elephant to l.; Legend as above.
Rev. : As variety *A*.
W. : 23.5, 24.0, 27.5, 28.7, 29.5, 31.6, 32.5, 35.00, 42.00 gr.
S. : 5.0″ (3 coins), .6″ (6 coins).
Ref. : *BMC, AI,* pp. 127-8, nos. 36, 41, 42, 43, pl. XVI. 3; *IMC, I,* p. 166, nos. 2-4; *Catalogue of the Coins collected by C. J. Rodgers and Purchased by the Govt. of the Punjab,* Pt. III, 1895, p. 126, nos. 2 and 3

Note :—Rodgers calls the wavy line as snake symbol.

CLASS II

Obv. : Male figure standing to left, holding spear in r. hand; wavy line vertically on r. Inscription illegible.
Rev. : Elephant with trunk upraised to l. and rider. Brāhmī legend: - - *Banumitasa.*
W. : 15.0, 58.5″ gr. *S.* : 0.53 ′, .75″.
Ref. : *BMC, AI,* p. 128, no. 44, pl. XLIII. 2; *Catalogue of the Coins collected by C. J. Rodgers and Purchased by the Govt. of the Punjab,* Pt. III, p. 126, no. 1

Note :—But the obverse of this coin which is taken by Rodgers as reverse is indistinct, except two Kharoshṭhī letters.

CLASS III

Obv. : Elephant to l. with trunk upraised. Kharoshṭhī legend : - *ña Bhānumitrasa*
Rev. : Elephant to r. before tree in railing. Brāhmī legend : --- *numitrasa*
W. : 28.5 gr. *S.* : .55″.
Ref. : *BMC, AI,* p. 128, no.45, pl. XLIII. 3.

AJAMITRA

Ajamitra is spelt out as Āryamitra by Allan, Jai Prakash and B. Lahiri; but elsewhere Āryamitra is pronounced in Prakrit as Āyyamitra (*BMC, AI,* pp. 137-8). The word '*Aja*' is correct in Sanskrit and is used for the gods etc, (Monier Williams: *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* p. 9).

His coins are of copper and round in shape. They can be divided into two classes :

CLASS I

Obv. : Male figure standing to l., holding spear in r. hand; vertical wavy line at r.; Kharoshṭhī legend : *Raña Ajamitrasa*

Rev. : Elephant to l. with trunk upraised. Brāhmī legend: *Ajamita (sa).*
W. : 52.0, 54.5; 71.0 gr.
S. : .7″ (two coins), .75″.
Ref. : *BMC, AI*, pp. 125-6, nos. 26-28 pl. XV. 13-15.

CLASS II

Obv. : As preceding.
Rev. : Elephant to l. with rider. Brāhmī legend : *Rajña Ajamitasa.*
W. : 56.5, 62.5 gr.
S. : .7″, .75″.
Ref. : *BMC, AI,* pp. 126, 287, nos. 29, 29a, pl. XLIII.1.

MAHĪMITRA

All the coins of this ruler are of copper except one which is of brass. All of them are round in shape. They may be divided into two varieties on the basis of the legends :

Variety A

All the coins are of copper

Obv. : Male figure standing to l., holding spear in right hand; vertical wavy line at the r.; Kharoshṭhī legend : *Raña Mah(i)mitrasa.*
Rev. : Elephant with upraised trunk to l. Brāhmī legend : *-ña Mah(i-)mita(sa).*
W. : 31.0, 35.5, 51.0 gr.
S. : .65″, .7″ (2 coins).
Ref. : *BMC, AI*, pp. 126-7, nos. 31, 32 and 34 pl. XV.17, 18, 20.

Variety B

The coins of this variety have the legends on both the sides in Kharoshṭhī. But according to metal the coins of this variety can be classified into two sub-varieties :

Sub-variety (**i**)

The specimen is of copper

Obv. : As variety *A.*
Rev. : As variety *A* but the legend in Kharoshṭhī: *Raña Maha - - -.*
W. : 34.0 gr.
S. : .8.″
Ref. : *BMC, AI,* p. 126, no. 33, pl. XV.19.

Sub-variety (**ii**)

The coin is made of brass.

Obv. & *Rev.* : as above

Note—The vertical wavy line of this coin is identified by Smith as snake.

W. : 69.3 gr.
S. : .75″.
Ref. : *IMC*, I, p. 166, no. 1.

MAHĀBHŪTIMITRA

Only one coin is known and that is of copper and round in shape.

Obv. : Male figure standing to l., holding spear in r. hand, vertical wavy line at r.; Kharoshṭhī legend : *Mahabhūtimitrasa*.
Rev. : Elephant to l. with rider. Inscription illegible.
W. : 61.5 gr.
S. : .6″.
Ref. *BMC*, *AI*, p. 287, no. 30a.

AGNIMITRA

The coin no. 30 of *BMC*, *AI*, catalogued under the name of the Āryamitra by Allan deserves re-examination. This is described by him as follows :

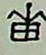
Obv. : "Elephant r., traces of legend."

Rev. : "Tree in railing 𑀅𑀲𑀢...𑀳𑀓𑁆𑀭?"

K. K. Dasgupta reads the reverse legend as *Asata...hakra ?*" (*A Tribal History of Ancient India*, p. 52).

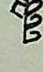
This coin, which is of copper and round in shape, is a re-struck perice. On this specimen, we read the issuer's name as Agim(itra). The traces of a device on the obverse and alphabets on the reverse can be marked. It can be described as follows :

Earlier Struck Coin :

Obv. :  (Probably lower part of tree in railing).

Rev. : Traces of legend beginning with *ra*.

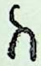
Later Struck Coin :

Obv. : Elephant with upraised trunk to r., symbol  (probably a branch of tree held by elephant in its trunk) at r. and traces of some marks at l.

Rev. : Multileafed tree and traces of some marks at left. Brāhmī legend at right: *Agim (itasa)*.

W. : 23.0 gr. *S.* : ·55″.

Ref. : *BMC, AI*, p. 226, no. 30. pl. XV. 16. But the coin is illustrated *vice-versa*.

The legend on the side of the coin (i.e. the obverse of the illustration and reverse of the description) which has tree in railing, is not properly drawn by Allan. The first part of the legend drawn by him occurs roughly between III and V o'clock on the coin. No doubt he correctly reproduces the first letter which is *a* in Brāhmī. But the second alphabet is represented here in upturnform. The photograph itself is the attestation of this fact. This character is inscribed on the coin as  and so this should be deciphered as *gi* rather than *ja*. There, following to it, appears a portion of the circle which may be taken as the lower part of the letter *ma*. The two alphabets identified by Allan on VIII and IX o'clock of the coin seem to be the parts of symbols. Thus the extant three letters at the right side of the coin can be read as *Agima* and this can be restored as Agimitasa = Agnimitrasya. About the reverse, Allan also holds that there are 'traces of legend.' On this side five strokes, one at the top, three at the right and one at the left, facing to a vertical line can be clearly noticed. But of them, four clearly visible strokes are of the same shape. To us they seem to be a branch of the tree held by the elephant in its upraised trunk. Thus this coin reveals the existence of one more king, Agnimitra, among the Mitras of this place. It can also be pointed out here that some faint traces of strokes can also be marked behind the elephant which appear to be the remnents of the earlier struck devices.

II

Cunningham includes the issues of the Mitras of this region among the coins of the Audumbaras.[1] Indian Museum possesses only the coins of Mahīmitra and Bhānumitra. Following Cunningham, Smith also catalogues these Indian Museum coins under the Audumbaras.[2] But R. D. Banerji objected over it since "none of these seem to have had any connection with that tribe." He also rightly adds that "on the coins of the Audumbara chiefs Dharaghosha, Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa, we invariably find that the name of the tribe is associated in the legend with that of the king. Consequently the attribution of coins which do not bear the name of the tribe to the Audumbaras, must be

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1. *CAI*, pp. 69-,0.
2. *IMC*, I, p. 166.

very doubtful."[1] S. K. Chakrabortty rejects this statement of Banerji by saying: "But there is no reason that the same practice should be adhered to throughout the ages; a change in the constitution of the Audumbaras might lead to the introduction of a new form of legends. So long as great importance was attached to the tribal character of the constitution, the name of the tribe was coupled in the coins with the names of their rulers; but if later on with a change in the constitution and the augumentation of royal authority, the rulers gave only their own names and omitted that of the tribe, there is nothing improbable in it." However, he holds that perhaps the coins of "Bhānumitra had been wrongly attributed by Cunningham to the Audumbaras." But on the resemblance in style he ascribes "the coins of Mahimitra and Ajamitra to the Audumbaras." And, Chakrabortty concludes that "it is almost certain that they were the rulers of this tribe, of which the National god was Mahādeva or Śiva. It is also probable that the coins without the tribal name were of a later date than those of Dharaghosha, Rudradāsa and Śivadāsa who preceded them."[2] About the constitutional change, A. C. Banerji correctly questions, what proof Chakrabortty, "has been able to gather in support of his conclusion." A. C. Banerji further suggests that "the similarity, in type, in style, or provenance, are not sure criterion for inclusion of any coin in any tribe where the tribal name is not found." In support of this he quotes an example : "After the downfall of the Western Kshatrapas, the Gupta kings issued coins of the same type, fabric and metal, for the use of the people of Gujarat and neighbouring provinces. Shall we be right in maintaining that all Gupta emperors from Chandragupta to, say, Skandagupta were members of the Kshatrapa dynasty ?" Jai Prakash also writes : "There is, however, no authority to corroborate what Chakrabortty states so emphatically. Similarly, there is no testimony on the basis of which we can say that the said four-mitra kings were scions of the Audumbara tribe."[5]

Allan also, in the foot-steps of Cunningham, retains the attribution of the coins of these Mitras to the Audumbaras[6], though he accepts that they, "are not in type or style particularly closely connected with the coins bearing the name *Odumbari.*" Even then, to him, "A link is perhaps found in the elephant, usually however, with rider on the obverse, and though rarely visible,

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1. *NS,* XXIII, p. 248.
2. *AIN,* pp. 161-62; *NS,* XLVI, p. 74.
3. *JBORS,* XX, pp. 168-9.
5. *JNSI,* XXVII (2), p. 130.
6. *BMC, AI,* pp. 125-28.

the tree in front of it". He also adds : "The obverse type is the figure of a male deity, Kārttikeya or perhaps simply a warrior holding a spear in his right hand; on some coins an axe-head seems visible on the shaft, which recalls the trident axe of the Audumbara square copper coins."[1] On this, Jai Prakash opines : "The slight type similarity existing in them shows the continuation of the local numismatic traditions."[2] D. C. Sircar[3] and K. A. N. Shastri[4] also appear to be inclined in favour of the attribution of these coins to the Audumbaras. But Jagannath does not include them among the Audumbaras.[5] Jai Prakash also does not favour the attribution of these coins to the Audumbaras. For that he writes : "All that can be said on the basis of the existing evidence is that the ruling chiefs of that Audumbara tribe were followed in their kingdom possibly by a dynasty of kings who favoured a monarchical type of government. The Mitra kings may or may not have been responsible for the downfall of the Audumbara republic. The identity of the provenance of the coins of the two groups shows that the kings of the second group chronologically followed the former."[6] But we do not subscribe to his surmise that these Mitra kings followed the Audumbaras in their dominion because it is wrongly been held by him that the provenance of the coins of the Audumbaras and the Mitras is the same. However, it appears that one of these Mitras invaded the Audumbara territory and held it for sometime. In support of the attribution of these coins to the Audumbara tribe, K. K. Dasgupta puts forth, "One may however point out the omission of the tribal name in the series of the Mitra rulers but mere omission of the name of the tribe cannot be considered as a ground for non-assigning the Mitra series to the Audumbaras. For we have instances of tribal coins where the name of the tribe does not occur (cf. Class 1 and 4 coins of the Yaudheyas, *BMC, AI*, pp. 265-75), a fact which shows that in classification of coins, type and fabric are more important than the mention of name of the tribe concerned." He further reiterates the argument of Chakrabortty that "the omission of the tribal name in the series in question may be due to factors such as the change in the constitution of the Audumbaras with the increase of the authority of the rulers of the tribe who gave their own names only in the coin-legends." Thus Dasgupta holds that these Mitra coins "are to

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1. Op. cit., p. LXXXVI.
2. *JNSI*, XXVII (2), p. 130.
3. *AIU*, p. 162 fn.
4. *CHI*, II, p. 135.
5. Ibid, p. 109.
6. *JNSI*, XXVII (2), p. 130.

be attributed without any doubt to the Audumbaras."[1] M. K. Sharan[2] and B. Lahiri accept this attribution, although the latter admits as one of the possibilities that the Audumbaras were succeeded by a new dynasty of the Mitras[3]. Dasgupta also adds, in support of his earlier arguments, that we have come across coins of a king named Vijayamitra who has been described therein as belonging to the Kulutas. If the Kuluta, a neighbouring tribe of the Audumbaras, could have had a king with a *mitra* surname, the Audumbaras might have equally got rulers with *mitra*-ending."[4] But this is not a strong point in support of this attribution.

The coins of classes I and IV of the Yaudheyas catalogued by Allan are probably the same which are referred to as 'some coins of the Yaudheyas' by Sharan[5] to prove the omission of the tribal name on the coins of a tribe. But the critical examination of the typological evidence does not support the prevalent contention that they were minted by the Yaudheyas. The coins of the Yaudheyas which bear the name of the tribe, are of four types[6]: 1. Bull with a *Yupa* in railing/Elephant with *nandipada* and a flying pennon (Allan's class 2), 2. Six headed Kārttikeya/goddess on lotus between a six-tiered mountain surmounted by *nandipada* and tree in railing (Silver coin of Allan's class 3), 3. Bull (Allan's class 5) and, 4. Kārttikeya/Lakshmī (Allan's class 6). But the coins of class I (listed under the Yaudheyas by Allan) have tree in railing, Ujjain symbol, Sun, *yya* like symbol (Śrivatsa), and triangle-headed standard on the obverse. The reverse is either plain or bears a peculiar symbol. They are generally uninscribed, except for one variety which has the legend *Mahārājasa.*[7] In class IV, mentioned by Allan, only one specimen occurs. It contains three arched hill surmounted by crescent and a *svastika* on the obverse and Trident as well as standard on the reverse.[8] The coins of these two classes differ in type from those of the Yaudheyas. And, the suggestion made by Allan that the coins of class I are connected with those of type 1 (Allan's class 2) by fabric, metal, and provenance[1] and the same adhered by the subsequent scholars[2] is unwarranted. None of the symbols of the coins of these two classes is common. In fabric, too, they are not identical. Further the metal and provenance alone cannot be considered the criteria for the attribution of any coin to a particular dynasty or tribe. No doubt, tree in railing is represented on the coins of types 1 and 2 (Allan's class 3) but again its shape is different from that represented on them. It can also be pointed out that the attribution of the coin of Allan's class 4 to the Yaudheyas which is based on the provenance alone is not convincing.[3] Hence the attribution of the coins of these two classes to the Yaudheya tribe would be highly unjustified. One may also suggest that the copper coins of class 3 described by Allan under the Yaudheyas, which bear the legend *Bhagavata Svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya*[4], are also devoid of the tribal name *Yaudheya*. But again these metalic pieces are not the money of the Yaudheyas[5]. Therefore, the omission of the tribal name is the strongest barrier in the attribution of the coins in question to Audumbaras.[6]

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[1] *The Audumbaras,* p. 15.

[2] Sharan only refers to the arguments proposed by Allan and Dasgupta in support of the attribution of these coins to the Audumbaras, without acknowledging them. *Tribal Coins—A Study*, 1972, pp. 251-5.

[3] She writes : 'It is not impossible that the tribal oligarchy of the Audumbaras was gradually transformed into a monarchy or followed by a new dynasty of rulers with mitra—ending names (*Indigenous States of Northern India*, p. 222).

[4] *The Audumbaras,* p. 15; *A Tribal History of Ancient India—A Numismatic Approach,* p. 58.

[5] *Tribal Coins—A Study,* p. 243.

[6] *BMC, AI,* pp. 267 ff.

[7] Ibid, pp. 265-6.

[8] Ibid, p. 275.

No doubt, 'type and fabric are more important' in the classification and attribution of coins than the mention of the tribal name. But the typological basis, on which these Mitra coins are assigned to the Audumbaras by Allan and the same referred to by the subsequent numismatists,[7] is simply mentioned as the elephant, the tree and the axe-head attached to the shaft held by a deity Kārttikeya or Warrior. On this one may emphatically remark that the elephant and tree are the common motifs of the early Indian coinage unless it is stressed that these coin-devices are modelled on those represented on the Audumbara currency. Notwithstanding, the multi-leafed tree represented on the class II of the Audumbara coins[1] resembles with that which occurs only on the coins of Agnimitra; although the enclosure of the multileafed tree of the Audumbara coins is not clear on the coin of Agnimitra. Again the seven leafed tree in railing—Allan takes five leafed tree in railing, adopted by the Mitras is no where seen on Audumbara coinage. This can also not be compared with the five leafed tree in railing known on the specimens of class I of the Audumbaras as the shapes of their leaves differ. The five-leafed tree in railing of the Audumbara coins is also known on some of the coins of Ujjayinī.[2] Can we attribute these Ujjayinī coins to the Audumbaras on the basis of the solitary symbol ? In view of the above facts, the resemblance of the multi-leafed tree, a solitary symbol of the Audumbaras, on a single coin of the Mitras can also not be considered as an argument to prove the above contention, since they do not come from the same place, and moreover because of the absence of the enclosure of the Audumbara tree. The adoption of this coin-device by a Mitra king may suggest the capture of the Audumbara territory or its part by him. Undoubtedly the figure of elephant with complete body facing to left with trunk hanging found on the coins of class I of the Audumbaras is also depicted on a piece of Bhānumitra. It would not be out of place to say that this feature is not enumerated by the scholars who speak of the Audumbara lineage of the Mitras on the basis of the coin-types. But this, too, cannot be accounted for, because the coins of class I of the Audumbaras were unconnected in time with those of the Mitras as the coins of class II of the Audumbaras were minted in between them. As regards the axe-head attached with the spear we can recall that it is not mentioned by Allan alongwith the description of the coins in *BMC, AI,* but in its 'Introduction'. However, we fail to notice the same. It seems that some of the characters of Kharoshṭhī incribed outside the spear making as their base misled him to form this idea. B. Lahiri takes the characterstic of the biscriptual legends on the coins of class II of the Audumbaras and those of the Mitras as one of the grounds for the attribution of the Mitra coins to the Audumbara tribe.[3] But for Jai Prakash, it is "the continuation of the local numismatic tradition."[4] The adoption of the biscriptual legends Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī, at either side, only indicates that the region, wherein they were minted, used both the scripts.

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[1] Op. cit., p. cxlvii.

[2] K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India—A Numismatic Approach*, p. 211; B. Lahiri, *Indigenous States of Northern India*, p. 203.

[3] According to me, Bhānuvarma known from the specimens of this so-called class IV flourished in Garhwal district, U.P., as a local ruler, vide my paper entitle 'Two Local Rulers of Garhwal', to be published in Dr. D. C. Sircar Felicitation volume.

[4] *BMC, AI*, pp. 270 ff.

[5] *Seminar Papers on the Tribal Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 154 ff.

[6] *The Audumbaras*, p. 15; *JHAI*, p. 57.

[7] *Tribal Coins—A Study*, pp. 240 ff; *ISNI*, pp. 222-23.

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[1] Elsewhere I have divided the copper coins of the Audumbaras into two classes and kept the coins which bear the tribal name alone in class I (cf. *CAI,* p. 68, no. 2) and those with the names of the tribe and its chief (*BMC; AI,* pp. 122 ff.) in class II.

[2] *BMCAI,* pp. 245 ff.

[3] *ISNI,* p. 222.

[4] *JNSI,* XXVII (2), p. 130.

Most of the typological characteristics, which are given on the Mitra currency, are uncomparable with those of the Audumbara coinage. We know that the coins of the class II of the Audumbaras, which are found in good number and issued by their three rulers, are characterised to have merely elephant with front part or the figure of elephant in outline facing. This representation is conspicuously absent on the coins of the Mitras. If they belonged to the Audumbara lineage, they should have adopted this coin-motif rather than that of class I of the Audambaras whose minting evidently would have stopped long back as they contained the name of the tribe alone and those of class II bore the names of the chiefs as well as of the tribe. To bring the matter home, these Mitras cannot be put in between these two classes of the coins in view of the absence of the tribal name. Further, the other coin-devices of the Mitras such as elephant with trunk uparised, elephant with rider, Male figure holding spear and other symbols are completely unrepresented on the Audumbara coinage. The fabric of the coins of the Mitras and the Audumbaras, too, are different. The specimens of former are round in shape while all the copper coins of the Audumbaras are square or rectangular. Provenance of both the currencies is also not the same. The coins of the Audumbaras are discovered from Pathankot and Kangra whereas those of the Mitras are found 'notably from the Hoshiarpur district'; although Dasgupta sometimes held that a few of them are obtained from Pathankot,[2] but for this we do not have any evidence. Thus all the available evidence is against the most prevalent contention that these Mitras belonged to the Audumbara tribe.

The coin-types led Chakrabortty to separate Bhānumitra from other Mitras and to take him as a ruler of Pañchāla. On this Jai Prakash comments : "An acceptance of this would appear to imply the identity of Bhānumitra of the present series with the homonymous king of Pañchāla, which we think would be wrong. The two Bhānumitra's can be distinguished from one another on the basis of their coins. Pāñchāla rulers are known to have struck a monoscriptual money but the successors of the Audumbaras continue to strike a biscriptual

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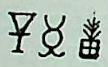
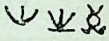
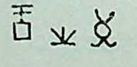
[1] *BMC, AI*, p. LXXXVI.

[2] *The Audumbaras*, p. 10.

money like their predecessors."[1] Apart from this the typology of the coins requires a fresh and detailed examination for having a correct picture. Chakrabortty had two types of coins of this king which were listed under the Audumbaras : 1. elephant on the obverse and symbols on the reverse, 2. symbols on the obverse and Sun on the reverse. Since, following Cunningham, he finds the reverse of coin-type 1 and obverse of coin-type 2 as identical, he proposes that both these types of Bhānumitra should be assigned to Pañchāla.[2] Whereas Jai Prakash considers both of them to have been issued by a successor of the Audumbaras.[3] About the symbols stamped either on the reverse or obverse Chakrabortty writes, : "one is a *Tree*, the other *Nandipada* but the third cannot be recognised; the snake (zigzag line) referred to by Cunningham seems to be a part of the *Nandipada* Symbol." These three symbols on the reverse of coin-type 1 can be identified as  and the obverse symbols of type 2 as  .

The coins of Pañchāla, as Chakrabortty himself accepts, have 'a special characteristic' by possessing three symbols arranged in a line' on the obverse; although these Pañchāla symbols were not 'satisfactorily interpreted'[4] till then but later on Allan correctly identifies them as  .[5] Thus we find only third of the Pañchāla symbols on the reverse of type 1 alone and hence it does not favour the attribution of this type to Pañchāla. One may also question the assignment of type 2 to this locality because of the absence of the first Pañchāla symbol on it. But in view of the fact that the first two Pañchāla symbols are sometimes replaced by a new symbol on some of the coins and the specimen of type 2 resembles closely in style and fabric with the Pañchāla pieces, coin-type 2 may be ascribed to Pañchāla. Nevertheless the subsequent discoveries of the Male/Elephant type coins bearing the name of Bhānumitra similar to those of Ajamitra and Mahīmitra prove the historicity of Bhānumitra in the same family.

P. L. Gupta holds all of them to be the Mitra kings of Pañchāla.[6] Dasgupta is not prepared" to attribute these coins to the Mitra rulers of

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1. *JNSI*, XXVII (2), pp. 130-31.
2. *AIN*, pp. 162-3.
3. *JNSI*, XXVII (2), p. 131.
4. Ibid, pp. 205-6.
5. *BMC, AI*, p. CXVI.
6. *IHQ*, XXVII, pp. 199.

Pañchāla or to any other Mitra dynasty of Madhyadeśa simply on the ground of the occurrence of the Mitra surname." Dasgupta later on substantiates: "Tendency to adopt the surname of the celebrated dynasty by other less known and later dynasties was a feature of the socio-political history of ancient India (cf. the adoption of the *Gupta* and *Pāla* surnames by different dynasties of northern India after the appearance, and even long after the disappearance, of these two famous dynasties."[1] Really *Gupta* and *Mitra* endings were commonly adopted in those days and possibly the latter was the fashion of the day, that is why we come across a great many rulers of this period bearing *Mitra* ending names.[2] Not that, typologically the issues of these Mitras are different from those of Pañchāla which are characterised to have constantly the Pañchāla obverse devices. Again in fabric, too, they are not identical : The coins of these Mitras have the round incuse whereas those of Pañchāla bear square incuse on the obverse. The coins of the Mitras are bilingual while the Pañchāla coins are monolingual :Thus the issues of these Mitras neither belonged to the Audumbara tribe nor to the Pāñchāla dynasty.

III

So far the Mitra currency of Punjab reveals the existence of five rulers—Bhānumitra, Agnimitra, Ajamitra, Mahīmitra and Mahābhūtimitra. Their coins bear the legends in Prakrit inscribed in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī [3] Some of their coins appear to have been obtained from the Hoshiarpur district. Cunningham, who for the first time reported to a few of them, does not mention their find-spots. Nevertheless, Smith says that the coins of Bhānumitra commonly occur 'at the foot of the Manaswāl plateau, Hoshiarpur district.'[4] According to Allan the coins of the Mitras come from the Punjab, 'notably from the Hoshiarpur district.'[5] Hence these Mitras undoubtedly flourished in and around this area. The conjecture of Jai Prakash that they followed the Audumbaras in their territory is based on the wrong notion of the provenances of the coins of the Mitras and the Audumbaras. Certainly the coins of the Audumbaras are found from Pathankot and Kangra and none from the Hosiarpur district. No doubt Dasgupta earlier held that few of them were found at Pathankot and regarding

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1. *The Audumbaras*, p. 15; *JHAI*, pp. 57-8.
2. *JNSI*, XX, (2), p. 128.
3. *The Development of Kharoshṭhī Script*, p. 63.
4. *IMC*, I, p. 161.
5. *BMC, AI*, p. LXXXVI.

one of them he said that it was found by Cunningham.[1] But no where Pathankot is mentioned as their provenance. Nor Cunningham records, as has already been pointed out above, the provenance of any specimen of these. Therefore, Dasgupta, probably realising this mistake omits the topic of their provenance in his subsequent work.[2] Bela Lahiri observes: "Even though the territory for which these coins were issued is not definitely known, the use of Kharoshṭhī script as well as their provenance suggests that it was somewhere in the eastern Punjab, in or adjoining the Audumbara country." [3]However, on the basis of the find-spot of their coins it can be postulated that they ruled over a domain lying between Beas and Sutlej in Punjab with their capital in the Hoshiarpur district. Further the wearing of helmet by the standing male figure on their coins indicates that they carved their principality in the vicinity of the Indo-foreign kingdom. It is not unlikely that their territory was also situated adjoining the Audumbara country.

The coins of Bhānumitra are of three types : 1. Elephant/symbols, 2. standing male figure/Elephant with rider, 3. Elephant/Elephant with tree in railing. His coin-type 1 bears the third Pañchāla symbol on its reverse A coin of Bhānumitra of Pañchāla is described by Cunningham[4] alongwith a coin of Bhānumitra of this series. This has led Lahiri to form that they were found together.[5] She may be right, although nowhere it is stated that they come together from a place. Jai Prakash also takes it to have been minted by this Bhānumitra and the occurrence of the sun symbol on its reverse is explained by him as that "Bhānumitra of Punjab possibly borrowed this type from the coins of Pāñchāla king of the same name, and he utilized the type, almost without any alteration".[6] Lahiri also opines: "Inspite of these associations it is difficult to identify the two Bhānumitras, since the coins under discussion form a different series and are distinguished from the Pañchāla coins in their types as well as in use of the Kharoshṭhī legends".[7] Certainly the first Pañchāla symbol does not exist on the coin of Bhānumitra of the Sun type, but as in type, style and fabric it is identical with those of Bhānumitra of Pañchāla,[8] this can not be ascribed to Bhānumitra of Punjab, otherwise definitely we have to presume that Bhānumitra of Pañchāla included a part of this region into his domain; although Jai Prakash does not agree with this.[1] However, the presense of a Pañchāla symbol on the coins of this Bhānumitra suggests that most probably he was a original resident of Pañchāla. In view of B. Lahiri, "There is no clue to determine who between Bhānumitra and Mahābhūtimitra preceded the other"[2]. However, he seems to have been succeeded by Mahābhūtimitra as he issued his coins in type 2 of Bhānumitra, i. e. standing male figure/Elephant with rider. Ajamitra minted his money in two types : 1. Standing male figure/elephant, 2. Standing male figure/Elephant with rider. The adoption of the elephant with rider type may be taken as a ground to consider him as the successor of Mahābhūtimitra B. Lahiri rightly holds that he may be placed between Mahīmitra and the other two rulers Bhānumitra and Mahābhūtimitra. But possibly Mahīmitra was not the earliest ruler of this family. Mahīmitra used only the standing male figure/elephant type for coining his metalic pieces, and as such he may be presumed to have followed Ajamitra. Perhaps Agnimitra was the last ruler. He appears to have re-struck a so-called coin of Pura Janapada. His coin has, in incuse, elephant with trunk upraised and holding a branch of the tree in its trunk, facing to right on the obverse and multileafed tree and some additional marks on the reverse. Its older obverse retains the lower part of tree in railing, the device of the so-called Pura Janapada coins.[3] Like the issues of this series, the Agnimitra coin also contains the legend in Brāhmī alone on one side. It is not unlikely that Agnimitra ruled over the territory of the so-called Pura Janapada. Its coins are said to have been found, 'from the same region'.[4] The Vemakas whose two coins have been discovered so far, also appear to have governed the same areas which were occupied by these Mitras as a coin of theirs is also reported from Hoshiarpur. It is also interesting to note that one of the specimens minted by its chief Rudravarma bears elephant with upraised trunk facing to right.[1] Besides, a king named Mahādeva who flourished in the territory previously held by the Vemakas contains elephant upraised trunk, although facing to left, on his coins.[2] It is not unlikely that the Mitras were forced by the Vemakas to move out of this area and their king Agnimitra established himself in the domain of the so-called Pura Janapada which was located probably between the rivers Beas and Sutlej in the Himanchal Pradesh, where Brāhmī alone was in use; and, from there, he invaded and captured a part of the Audumbara territory, situated in its north in the same state. So, as the victory medllion, he issued his coin with the multileafed tree—a part of the Audumbara emblem.

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[1] *The Audumbaras*, p. 10.

[2] *THAI*, pp. 49-52.

[3] *ISNI*, p. 223.

[4] *CAI*, p. 70.

[5] *ISNI*, p. 223.

[6] *JNSI*, XXVII (2), p. 131.

[7] *ISNI*, p. 223.

[8] *BMC, AI*, pl. XXXVII nos. 15, 18, 19 and 20.

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[1] He writes : 'It will also be too far fetched to think that Bhānumitra of Pañchāla held at least a part of the former Audumbara kingdom and issued money for circulation in that region in accordance with its own numismatic tradition. Had this been the case, coins of Bhānumitra of Pāñchāla must also have come to light from the region in between. But since this is unevidenced, it seems more reasonable to think that Bhānumitra of Pāñchāla did not conquer Panjab or parts thereof' (*JNSI*, XXVII (2), p. 131).

[2] *ISNI*, p. 223.

[3] Recently Dasgupta read the legend *Pura-Janapada* on some of the coins (*JNSI*, XXXVIII (2), pp. 57-8), but I am doubtful about this reading. I shall discuss these coins later on.

[4] *BMC, AI*, p. LXXXVI.

Allan places these coins in the first century B. C. or A. D.[3] He does not give the reason for dating these coins to the first century A. D. Dasgupta, as he takes them to be later than the coins of the Audumbaras, dates them to the first century A. D.[4] C. C. Dasgupta is not in favour of ascribing these coins in a period 'as late as the first century A. D.[5] Since these coins appear to have preceded the issues of the Vemakas who flourished in the first century B. C.[6], they can also be placed during that period.

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1. *JNSI*, XXXIV (2), pp. 175ff.
2. I have dealt the coins of this ruler elsewhere.
3. *BMC, AI*, p. LXXXVI.
4. *THAI*, p. 58.
5. *D. K.*, p. 64.
6. The Vemaka coins are modelled on some of those of Maues who flourished in the first century B. C. (*A Comprehensive History of India*, II, pp. 194-8).

THE SO-CALLED JOINT COINS OF THE INDO-GREEKS

A. N. LAHIRI

There are some Indo-Greek coins which simultaneously bear names of two sovereigns, indicating what is commonly known as 'Joint rule'. Hence these coins are known as 'Joint coins'. There are three series of such so-called 'Joint coins' amongst the Indo-Greek issues :

(1) Coins with the names of Strato (I) and Agathocleia;

(2) Coins bearing the names of Hermaeus and Calliope; and

(3) Coins having the names of Strato (II) and Strato (III).

1. THE STRATO-AGATHOCLEIA ISSUES

There are two distinct groups of coins of this Series 1, i. e. coins bearing the names of Strato (I) and Agathocleia.

Group A

This group is represented by 80-rati Indian tetradrachms that bear conjugate busts and names of Strato I and Agathocleia on the obverse and the figure of the thundering Athena and (a) the names of Strato and Agathocleia *or* (b) the name alone of Strato.

Variety A : *CIGC*, Pl I.7.[1]

Obv. Conjugate busts of youthful Strato and Agathocleia to right. Greek legend : (above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ (below) ΑΓΑθΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

Rev. Athena thundering to left. Prakrit legend : (above) *Maharajasa tratarasa* (below) *Agathukriae.*

Variety B : *CIGC*, Pl.I.8.

Obv. Conjugate busts and Greek legend, as above.

Rev. Athena thundering to left, as above. Prakrit legend : (above) *Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa* (below) *Stratasa.*

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[1] For illustrations see the author's *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins* = *CIGC.*

These interesting coins have helped us to determine correctly the relationship of Strato and Agathocleia.[1] As on other Greek coins which depict conjugate busts of persons whose relationship is definitely known as 'husband and wife', our present coins *also* depict the profile of Agathocleia *to the left of the profile* of Strato (cf. *CIGC*, p. 268). We may thus hold with a great amount of certainty that Strato I was the husband (not the son) of Agathocleia, as hitherto believed.[2] And since the legends adorn the name of Strato with both the royal title and the epithet but leave that of Agathocleia *without any of them*, Strato's position was unquestionably superior to that of Agathocleia. And this fact indicates that Strato himself was responsible for the issue of these coins, which, again, means that they were struck when Strato was in full regal power. The youthfulness of the portraits of the two sovereigns then indicates that these coins were issued at the early stage of Strato's career and with some definite purpose, before his very last stage, when he adopted the high-sounding epithet EπIφANHΣ[3]. And they could well have been struck to commemorate the marriage of Strato I with Agathocleia.

But why should Strato like to commemorate his marriage with Agathocleia by issuing coins ? There might have been some political reasons, for politics often played a considerable part in royal marriages in those days. Agathocleia must have come from a powerful royal family, and Strato gained considerable amount of prestige by marrying her. In fact, the very name 'Agathocleia' connects her with the Bactro-Grecian monarch Agathocles, the possible son of 'the Grete Emetrius King of Inde' of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale.*[4] Again, Agathocleia's use of the characteristic coin-device of Euthydemus I on her square copper coins of Group B (below) proclaims her as a princess of the house of Euthydemus I of Bactria. She was almost certainly a princess of the great house of Demetrius and Euthydemus. Agathocleia's position had a tremendous bearing on the marriage, and Strato was apparently too eager to commemorate it by issuing coins. But, as it appears, there were murmers, nay, strong protests, from Indian subjects, who usually resented being ruled by women.[1] As a result, the name of Agathocleia, which was put on the Prakrit side of the coins of Variety A, had to be altogether removed from that side of the coins of Variety B.

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[1] See *CIGC*, pp. 267-68.

[2] Cf. *CIGC*, pp. 72 and 172-73.

[3] Cf. the chronological sequence of Strato's coinage as listed in *CIGC*, pp. 178-82.

[4] It is now generally believed that Agathocles was the son of Demetrius I, as attested to by the Demetrius commemorative coin of Agathocles : cf. *CIGC*, Pl.II.2 (for the coin) and W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India (GBI)*, pp. 156-57 (for the relation between Demetrius I and Agathocles as father and son).

It is not thus difficult to determine the sequence of these so-called 'Joint coins' and the regular issues of Strato I, who first called himself (i) ΣΩΤΗΡ (= *Tratara*), then (ii) ΣΩΤΗΡ and ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ (i. e. *Tratara* and *Dhramika*), and finally (iii) ΕπΙφΑΝΗΣ and ΣΩΤΗΡ (or *Prachachha* and *Tratara*).[2] Strato I was not probably married when he started ruling as a very young man, as the boyish portrait of his early coins with the sole epithet ΣΩΤΗΡ (= *Tratara*) would suggest.[3] After his marriage were perhaps issued some of the coins with epithets ΣΩΤΗΡ and ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ (i. e. *Tratara* and *Dhramika*). On his marriage he issued these so-called 'Joint coins', which virtually served as his 'marriage manifesto'. Thereafter came all the regular and normal coins, some with the epithets ΣΩΤΗΡ and ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, and others with the epithets ΕπφΑΝΗΣ and ΣΩΤΗΡ.

Group B

This group consists of 20-rati Indian drachms that have on the obverse the bust and name of Agathocleia and on the reverse the armed figure and name of Strato I.[4] There are also two varieties of this group of coins.

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1. The position has been clearly stated in the Section, "Status of Women", in E. W. Hopkins *The social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India*, as reprinted in Calcutta University's *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. II, p. 423 : "When a woman is the ruler, men sink like stone-boats" (*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. XIII, 1888, p. 136, note). "Women's kingdom seem far off and foreign; and are grouped as such : 'the barbarians, the Chinese and those that live in a woman's kingdom" (*Mbh.* III.51.25).

   "Now in ancient times", says H. L. Haughton (*NC*, 1948, p. 137), "people generally and perhaps Orientals especially were inclined to regard with distrust and distaste the rule of a woman, which they knew from experience was liable to lead to intrigues, favourites, and unstable state of affairs in the realm, which might even culminate in civil war or attacks from without. Moreover, in this instance Heliocles had already encroached upon the territories of Agathocleia and Strato."

2. For coins of these three stages see *CIGC*, pp. 174-76, Types 1-9; pp. 176-80, Types 10-20; and pp. 180-82, Types 21-24 respectively.
3. Cf. *CIGC*, Pl. XXX. 3 and 5.
4. The reverse armed figure is unquestionably that of Strato himself, whose full Prakrit coin-legend is given around it.

Variety A : *CIGC*, Pl.1.3.

Obv. Diademed bust of Agathocleia to right. Greek legend : (above) ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ (below) ΑΓΑθΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

Rev. Diademed armed figure of Strato walking to right. Prakrit legend: (above) *Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa* (below) *Stratasa.*

Variety B : *CIGC*, Pl.1.4.

Obv. Diademed bust of Agathocleia to right, as above; but the Greek legend reads: (above) ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ θΕΟΤΡΟπΟΥ (below) ΑΓΑθΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

Rev. Diademed armed figure of Strato and the Prakrit legend, as above.

Copper Coins : *CIGC*, Pl.1.6.

We may here consider the importance and significance of a series of square copper coins, which bear on the obverse 'the helmeted bust of Agathocleia to right' and the Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ θΕΟΤΡΟπΟΥ ΑΓΑθΚΛΕΙΑΣ (as seen on the Indian drachms of Variety B) and on the reverse 'Herakles seated on rock with club on knee' (the characteristic device of the gold and silver coins of the great Graeco-Bactrian monarch Euthydemus I)[1] and the normal Prakrit legend of Strato's coins, *Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa* (as seen on the indian drachms of Group B).

None of the silver Indian drachms of Group B and the square copper pieces just described could have been issued jointly by Agathocleia and Strato I, for, in that case, the name of Strato I would have been on the obverse along with that of Agathocleia and *also* the name of Agathocleia would have been on the reverse along with that of Strato. The significant omission on Strato's name from the obverse clearly shows that *Strato himself had nothing to do with the issue of these coins.* They must have been struck by Agathocleia *alone*. And since the epithets given to Strato on the Prakrit reverse side are *trarara* (Soter) and *dhramika* (Dikaios), they were evidently issued at the intermediate stage of his career when he did not assume the loftier epithet ΕπΙφΑΝΗΣ. They were thus issued during the intermediate stage of Strato's career, *not before his assumption*

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1. Cf. *CIGC*, Pl. XVII. 7.
2. Cf. note 2, on p. 71 above.

of full regal power, as we formerly believed.[1] It is not unlikely that these coins were issued during a possible grave illness of Strato I, when Agathocleia took charge of the kingdom's administration and ruled on behalf of the ailing king; hence her name was put on the more important obverse side and in Greek—for the benefit of the Greek subjects, nobles and soldiers, who understood the position.[2] But since the Indians had an aversion for being ruled by women, Agathocleia's name was not written on the reverse in Prakrit, which was for the Indians to read. Instead the name of Strato was put on that side so as to give the Indian subjects to understand that their sovereign was Strato himself, for whom his consort was running the administration for the time being.[3]

2. THE HERMAEUS-CALLIOPE COINS

The so-called 'joint coins' bearing the conjugate busts and names of Hermaeus and Calliope also appear to be of the nature of the coins of Strato and Agathocleia with their jugate busts, described above (Group A). The coins are all in silver and are of the denominations of tetradrachm and drachm of the Indian standard.

Indian Tetradrachms and Drachms : CIGC, Pl. XXII. 1 and 2.

Obv. Conjugate busts of Hermaeus and Calliope to right. Greek legend : (above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (below) ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟπΗΣ.

Rev. King on prancing horse to right. Prakrit legend : (above) *Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa* (below) *Kaliyapaya.*

The occurrence of the device of the 'King on prancing horse on the reverse of these Hermaeus-Calliope silver issues is interesting for three reasons Firstly, it appears to replace the figure of a divinity that is generally depicted on the reverse of Indo-Greek silver coins. Secondly, this same device occurs *as well* on the reverse of all or some at least of the silver issues of four other princes, viz. Antimachus II, Philoxenus, Menander II and Hippostratus.[1] Thirdly, a unique series of Hermaeus' own silver issues represented by rare specimens of (Indian) tetradrachms, drachms and hemidrachms, *also* bear this same device—not on the reverse *but on the obverse itself*—in place of the usual royal bust [2] Obviously the rare device of the 'King on prancing horse' had a special bearing on the Hermaeus-Calliope coins[3], which, as we strongly believe, were struck to commemorate the marriage of Hermaeus with Calliope, who like Agathocleia was adorned with a diadem, and was evidently also a princess by her own right, i.e. she was the daughter of a reigning sovereign. The marriage most probably had a political significance, and Hermaeus promptly took advantage of it by commemorating it by a series of silver coins.

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[1] See *CIGC*, pp. 172-73.

[2] Cf. H. L. Haughton, *NC*, 1948, p. 137, where he speaks of 'Agathocleia's position *vis-a-vis* her Greek subjects in taking to herself the title' ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ.

[3] Cf. note 1, on p. 71 above. H. L. Haughton also realises the situation and rightly says that Agathocleia, in order "to reassure her Indian subjects as to the merely temporary nature of her position as Queen", gives Strato ... "his full title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, or rather its equivalent in Prakrit" (*NC*, 1948, p. 137).

Now, Antimachus II who first used the type of the 'King on prancing horse' called himself NIKHφOPOΣ ('Victorious') It is possible that the achievement of some initial victory induced him to adopt this interesting device. And it is quite likely that some similar initial victory encouraged Hermaeus also to use that device in imitation of the coins of Antimachus II at the very early stage of his career; for, as E. T. Newell believes, the Horseman-obverse coins were "among Hermaeus' earliest issues and was soon replaced by his far commoner coins adorned with the royal portrait on the obverse".[4] It is, however, not necessary to hold with Tarn that Calliope came from the house of

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1. See *CIGC*, Pl. VI. 10 (Antimachus II), Pl. XXVII. 3 (Philoxenus), Pl. XXVI. 10 (Menander II) and Pl. XXII. 8 (Hippostratus).
2. See *CIGC*, pp. 140-41, Type 4 : Pl. XXI. 9 (Indian tetradrachm).
3. According to A. Cunningham (*CASE*, pp. 24-25), the Hermaeus-Calliope coins "refer to a royal alliance". "Kalliope may have been", continues Cunningham, "the daughter of Menander or Hippostratus, or even of Amyntas; and perhaps the type of the horseman, which is found on all her coins, points to *her* connection with the Macedonian dynasty of Antialcidas". We do not know how Calliope could have any connection with Antialcidas, who is not known to have issued any horseman type of coins. However, E. J. Rapson (*CHI*, Vol. I, p. 547) duly endorses Cunningham's view when he says, "The occurrence of the type 'King on prancing horse' on the joint coins of Hermaeus and Calliope may. as Cunningham suggested, indicate the union of two royal houses". But Rapson is vague about the house from which Calliope came, for he says "as this type is characteristic of Antimachus and his successors, it is possible, as Cunningham suggested, that Calliope was a princess of this family" (*CHI*, Vol. I, p. 560).
4. American Numismatic Society's *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 82, p. 89.

Hippostratus, who struck coins with the device of the 'King on prancing horse'.[1]

3. THE STRATO II-STRATO III COINS

Then finally we have the third series of coins bearing on the obverse the bust of a very old man of over seventy years of age—with 'toothless jaws and sunken cheeks'[2]—and the names of two Stratos in Greek and on the reverse the crude figure of the 'thundering Athena' along with the names of two Stratos in Prakrit. Curiously enough, exactly similar coins with the *same devices* are also known, and they bear the name of only one Strato Soter.[3] Scholars would generally believe that these two series of coins—some with the names of two Stratos and others with the name of one Strato—were respectively issued *jointly* by Strato I Soter and Strato II Philopator and *singly* by Strato I Soter.

Thus, if we hold that Strato I Soter was responsible for the issue of these crude coins with the portrait of a man of over seventy years of age, we have to accept the possibility that Strato I had a break of rule for some twenty-five years; for the oldest known portrait of Strato I Epiphanes Soter that we come across on the regular and almost continuous coinage of that king would not be that of a man of over forty-five or at the most fifty years of age.[4] This fact and some others lead us to believe that the crude coins with the name alone of one Strato and the portrait of a man with 'toothless jaws and sunken cheeks' were issued by a second Strato Soter, while similar coins bearing two names were struck by that second Strato Soter and his associate Strato II Philopator.[5]

However, there is no doubt that here at last we come across actual 'Joint coins', which may be described as follows :

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[1] Hippostratus appears to have come much later than Hermaeus, since his coins were overstruck by the Indo-Scythian king Azes I : see *P. M. Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 123, No. 246.

[2] As originally stated by E. J. Rapson in his paper "Coins of the Graeco-Indian sovereigns, Agathocleia, Strato I Soter and Strato II Philopator", *Corolla Numismattca*, 1906, p. 257.

[3] See *CIGC*, pp. 182-83, Types 1-3 : Pl. XXXII. 8, 9 and 10.

[4] Cf. *CIGC*, Pl. XXXII. 2 and 4.

[5] See the author's paper, "Did Strato I strike Barbarous Coins"? in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 166-70.

Indian Drachms : *CIGC,* Pl. XXXII. 11-12

Obv. Bust of diademed king with 'toothless jaws and sunken cheeks' to right. Corrupt Greek legend which seems to read : BACIΛEΩC CΩTHPOΣ CTPATΩNOC YIOY CTPATΩNOC.

Rev. Athena thundering to left. Badly written Prakrit legend seems to read : *Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa Putrasa chasa priyapita Stratasa* ('Of Strato the Saviour and [his*] son Strato the Father-loving').

Thus we see that these coins bearing the names of two Stratos give us the relationship of the two partners and bestows on both of them distinct regal epithets unlike the so-called 'Joint coins' bearing the names of Strato and Agathocleia or of Hermaeus and Calliope.

These crude joint issues of Strato II Soter and Strato III Philopator, however, represent the very last stage of the Greek rule in India.

SOME MORE COINS OF THE KING SATAVAHANA

A. H. SIDDIQUI

[Pl. VIII]

Dikshit and Joglekar first brought to light a rectangular copper coin of king Satavahana. It contained an elephant and Ujjain symbol along with the legend *Siri Sadavahana.*[1] Mirashi also published a square copper coin from Hurmuz collection bearing the legend *Ramño Siri Sadavahana.*[2] Subsequently, Mirashi published a leaf-shaped lead coin from the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, which was obtained from Kondapur excavations; and it also contained the legend *Siri Sadavaha(na).*[3] Later, S. B. Deo, Sankalia and their colleagues[4] published five coins obtained from Nevasa excavations, and all these coins had the legend *Ramño Sara Satavahanasa* inscribed on them. Recently, one more coin of the king Satavahana from Byani collection was published in this Journal by Kolte[5] and it contains the name of the king as Sadavahana and was obtained from Akola (Vidarbha region). One more coin obtained from the historical site of Paunar (near Wardha) is expected to be published in this Journal by Prof. A. M. Shastri [6] In addition to these coins, Trivedi[7] tried to ascribe four coins of Rapson's. Catalogue of British Museum to king Satavahana, but Nisar Ahmad[8] has refuted this attribution. Thus the total extant coins of king Satavahana are ten in number.

In my collection there are four coins, which can be ascribed to king Satavahana. The description of these coins is as follows :

Coin (1) : Metal : Copper. Shape : Square. Size : 2.0 × 1.8 cm.
Wt : 3.510 grammes.
Provenance : Nanded (Marathwada region of Maharashtra).

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[1] *BDCRI*, VI, pp. 141-42.

[2] *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 1-4; Pl. II, No. 1.

[3] Ibid, XI, Pt. II, pp. 5 ff; Pl. II, No. 1.

[4] S.B. Deo et al; *From History to Pre-history at Nevasa*, pp. 171ff; *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 138ff., Pl. VIII, coin nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 & 7.

[5] *JNSI*, XXXVII, pp. 143-44.

[6] Ibid, f. note, No. 4.

[7] Ibid, XXII, pp. 253-54.

[8] Ibid, XXXII, Pt. I, pp. 58-64 ff.

Obverse : An elephant facing right with upraised trunk in walking position so that its front foot is raised. A triangle-headed standard flattened horizontally is at the back of the animal along with a Svastika by its side. In front of the animal, there is another Svastika just above the upraised trunk and below it a peculiar symbol consisting of a flattened circle on a vertical line. This symbol has been named by M. Rama Rao as glass symbol. Below this symbol, there is a Chaitya of six arches. On the extreme right side of the coin a tree in railing is also noticeable. There is a wavy line and another triangle-headed standard below the animal. The legend on the coin which runs diagonally in clockwise direction above the animal commencing from VII and it is read by me as *Ramño Siri Sadava(hanasa)*.

Reverse : An Ujjain symbol, each orb of which contains a pellet within a double circle. There are two glass symbols above two adjacent corners of Ujjain symbol and two Svastikas with their ends turned in reverse direction are located at the two other corners of Ujjain symbol. (**Pl. VIII. 1**)

There is a close analogy between the above mentioned coin of king Satavahana and the copper coin of king Sebaka which were earlier reported in this Journal by Mirashi[1] and M. G. Dikshit.[2] The details of my coin of king Sebaka are as follows :

Metal : Copper; Shape : Square. Size : 2.0 × 1-9 cm; Wt. 5-870 grammes.

Obverse : A bull walking to right with a Chaitya of six arches in front of it. There is a Svastika above the animal and another Svastika is located above the Chaitya. A triangle-headed standard at the back side of the animal and a wavy line below the animal. The legend runs horizontally on the upper part of the coin in bold elongated Brahmi letters as *Ramño Sebakasa*.

Reverse : The Naga symbol and Nandipada depicted on double-lined orbs. Another symbol ω enclsed within square (**Pl. VIII.2**).

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[1] *JNSI*, VII, p. 94.

[2] Ibid, XXX, pp. 186-188.

The similarity of the above mentioned coin of king Satavahana with the coin of king Sebaka lies in the following respects :

(1) Both of these coins contain triangle-headed standard above the animal and also one Svastika near the triangle-headed standard and another Svastika in front of the animal.

(2) A Chaitya occurs in front of the animal on both of these coins.

(3) Both the coins are of copper metal.

(4) The provenance of both of these coins of my collection is the same place, i. e., Nanded.

The coin of Sebaka described by Mirashi and which pertains to Hurmuz collection contains a tree-in-railing as a counter-struck mark on the body of the bull. The excavation at Paithan has led to the discovery of a large number of uninscribed coins containing tree-in-railing and by the stratigraphical evidence they are assigned to Satavahana period. In my collection also there are fairly a large number of such uninscribed coins. Two of such coins are worth mentioning :

Coin 'A' : Metal : lead. Shape : Square.
Size : 1.2 × 1.2 cm; Wt : 2.830 grammes
Obverse : A galloping horse within rectangular border.
Reverse : A tree-in-railing. (**Pl. VIII.3**)

Coin 'B' : Metal : lead; Shape : Rectangular.
Size : 1.41 × .2 cm. Wt : 3.010 grammes
Obverse : A humped bull.
Reverse : A tree in railing. (**Pl. VIII. 4**)

According to Dikshit the Satavahanas adopted tree-in-railing as a motif prior to the advent of Ujjain symbol on their coins. The counter-struck mark of tree-in-railing gives rise to inference that king Sebaka was an earlier ruler whose coins were re-circulated by Satavahana kings by counter-striking their emblem of royalty, i. e., tree-in-railing over it. However, the similarity of the coin of king Satavahana with that of king Sebaka suggests that the reigns of these kings were not very far. If the dynastic appellative 'Sebaka' stands for Andhra Bhrityas or Sevakas as mentioned in *Purāṇas*, then it is quite plausible that these two dynasties were ruling concurrently in the same region. As the

Brahmi characters on the coin of king Sebaka are analogous to the script found in the edicts of Asoka or to a period slightly later. Mirashi thought that king Sebaka ruled in third century, B C., while M. G. Dikshit was of the opinion that the Brahmi letters on the coin is earlier than the Satavahana period (200 B. C. 100 A. D.).

Coin (2) : Metal : Copper. Shape : Rectangular
Size : 1.5 × 1.2 cm. Wt: 2.080 grammes
Provenance : Hyderabad.

Obverse : A bull facing right and legend above the animal running in clockwise direction as *Siri Sadava* (*ha*) *nasa*.

Reverse : Tree-in-railing. **(Pl. VIII. 5)**

The motif 'Tree-in-railing' on the reverse of the coin indicates that the issuer of the coin was an early Satavahana ruler.

Coin (*3*) : Metal : Copper. Shape : Rectangular.
Size : 1.5 × 1.1 cm. Wt: 1.340 grammes
Provenance : Hyderabad.

Obverse : An elephant facing right with upraised trunk. A horizontally laid triangle-headed standard above the animal. The legend above the animal runs as '*Satavahana*(*sa*).

Reverse : Ujjain symbol of double concentric circles with pellet inside the inner circle and Svastika in between the orbs. (**Pl. VIII. 6**)

Coin (*4*): Metal : Copper. Shape : Square.
Size : 1.4 × 1.4 cm. Wt : 1.700 grammes
Provenance : Hyderabad.

Obverse : A lean elephant with trunk upraised walking towards left with a wavy line below along with pellets in each curve. A Chaitya of three arches at the backside of the animal. The legend runs above the animal as *Satava*...

Reverse : It is slightly blurred. There is an Ujjain symbol with pellet in each orb surmounted by crescent and Svastikas that occur between the orbs of Ujjain symbol. **(Pl. VIII. 7)**

This coin was earlier described by Mirashi in this *Journal.*[1] I had sent the ink impression of this coin through my friend Hurmuz Kaus and it seems that he read the legend by inverting the ink impression as *Satasa.*

The comparative study of my coins with those published earlier bearing the legend *Sadavahana* or *Satavahana* reveals the following classes, types and varieties.

Class I : *Coins with the legend Sadavahana.*

Type (I) : Square-shaped or rectangular copper coins having elephant facing right with upraised trunk on the obverse and Ujjain symbol on the reverse.

Variety (a) : Square-shaped coins which contain additional symbols, such as, horizontally laid triangle-headed standard, glass symbol, Svastika, tree-in-railing, Chaitya, wavy line on the obverse and Svastika, Nandipada on the reverse. My coin No. (1), the coins of Hurmuz and Byani collections are of this category. In this respect my coin No. (I) depicts more symbols than the other two coins.

Variety (b) : Small sized rectangular coin containing triangle-headed standard which is flattened horizontally and traces of Chaitya. The coin of Joglekar collection belongs to this category.

Type (2) : Leaf shaped lead coin containing elephant with a drooping trunk and a wavy line below.

The coin of Andhra Pradesh government Museum pertains to this category. The legend on this coin starts from below the legs of the elephant.

Type (3) : Rectangular shaped copper coin containing bull facing right on the obverse and tree in railing on the reverse.

My coin No. (2) comes under this category. The notable features of the paleography of the legend on these coins are following :

(i) The letter *da* is cursive with its curve open to left.

(ii) The letter *ha* has rounded base with short vertical.

(iii) The vertical of the letter *sa* is shortened and is of the same height as the limb on the right.

(iv) The *anusvāra* of *ra* appears on the right below the top.

(v) The regal title on these coins is *Ramno* for *Ranna.*

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[1] *JNSI*, XIII, Part II, Some more coins from Hyderabad, Coin No. 11

Such a regal title is inscribed on the coins of earlier Satavahana Kings while on the coins of later Kings the regal title *'Rana'* (for *Ranna*) or *Rano* (for *Ranno*) is found.

Class II : *Coins with the legend Satavahana.*

Type (1) : Rectangular copper coin with bull walking to right (seems to be stamped in incuse) on the obverse and reverse blurred. Nevasa coin (2) of pl. VIII in this *Journal* (no. 2186 of Nevasa report) belongs to this type.

Type (2) : Circular lead coin having elephant facing right with trunk aloft on the obverse and tree-in-railing on the reverse. Nevasa coin Nos. 4 and 7 of pl. VIII in this *Journal* (nos. 3640 and 6490 of Nevasa report) belong to this category.

Type (3) : Circular lead coin with bull facing right along with three arched Chaitya with arches unconnected on the obverse and five-branched tree in railing, triangle-headed standard, and wavy line on the reverse. Nevasa coin Nos. 1 and 3 of pl. VIII in this *Journal* (nos. 1981, 1175 of Nevasa report) being to this category.

Type (4) : Rectangular small size copper coin having a lean elephant facing left with trunk upraised and a wavy line below on the obverse and Ujjain symbol along with Svastikas on the reverse.

My coin No. (4) falls in this category.

The paleographical peculiarities of the coins of Class II show marked divergence. The coin of type (1) obtained from Nevasa excavations has the letter *ta* thin with rounded base and long stem, the letter *vā* with rounded base and a horizontal line below the end of the stem as *anusvāra* of *a,* the letter *ha* is thin with long stem and rounded base. All these characteristics give rise to the inference that it pertains to earlier period. The coins of type (2) and (3) have the letter *sa* with short and thick loop going down, the letter *ra* is also short, stumpy and thick. The *anusvāra* on *ra* occurs to the right hand bottom, the letter *na* is thinner but not stumpy. The letter *ta* has a thick annular base and biconical top and short stumpy stem. The letter *va* has rounded base of a thick ring and stem stumpy. The letter *ha* is thick with short stem and the letter *na* is also thick. All these palecgraphical features lead us to conclude that these coins belong to a still later period.

The coin of type (4), which is my Coin No. (4), has the letter *sa* with its loop bent downward on the left side and the stem longer. The letter *ta* is like the English letter '*h*' so that the stem is not in the middle and one loop is parallel to the stem. Such a type of letter *ta* is commonly found on the coins of later Sātavāhana Kings, such as inscribed on the Coins of Sātakarṇi III. The letter *va* has a rounded base with thick and long stem. By the paleographical features of the letter *ta*, *sa* and *va* on this coin we can surmise that it belongs to a later Sātavāhana King who ruled just before the reign of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi III.

Thus, the study of these coins shows that there were several kings who assumed the title Sātavāhana. P. L. Gupta[1] has rightly enunciated that the evolution of legends with the name of Kings on Indian coins started not earlier than first century B. C. Prior to that uninscribed coins and punch-marked coins were in circulation. In support of this enunciation we find a large number of punch-marked coins or Kārshāpaṇas obtained in excavations.[2] Further the symbols on these Sātavāhana coins are analogous to those found on punch-marked coins, such as Chaitya, tree-in-railing and Ujjain symbol. Although there is no unanimity among scholars regarding the date of the foundation of the Sātavāhana dynasty and several dates have been proposed ranging from *c.* 271 B.C. to 21 B.C., yet there is complete conformity in the *Purāṇas* that there were thirty rulers of Āndhra dynasty who ruled for more than four centuries.[3] So it can be rationally deduced that this dynasty might have originated in second or third century B. C. and its early rulers struck uninscribed coins and Kārshāpaṇas but later on with the advent of Indo-Greek rule in north India inscribed coins came into existence.[4] B. N. Mukherjee is of the opinion that the bilingual coins of Demetrius having the legend in Prākṛit language on the reverse might have induced Indian rulers to strike inscribed coins using prakrit language.[5] If we study the coins of various Sātavāhana Kings, we find that leaving aside the coins of Sātakarṇi about which correct attribution is difficult as there were several kings bearing the name Sātakarṇi, the coins of only later kings such as Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi III, Pulumavi II, Siva Siri; Skanda Sātakarṇi and Rudra Sātakarṇi are extant. Only coins of two earlier kings, namely, Āpīlaka and Meghasvāti are known to us. Hence this precludes the possibility of assigning the coins bearing the name Sātavāhana or Sādavāhana to the founder of the dynasty or son of Sātakarni I as conjectured by Mirashi, Katare and other numismatists. It is also noteworthy that the name Sātavāhana is not found in the list enumerated in the *Purāṇas*. The king whose name is inscribed on coins as Sādavahana may be an earlier ruler who might have flourished in first century B. C. almost after one of the Sātakarṇis whose coins depict earlier paleography. The coins of Class II, type (1) (Nevasa coin (2) and my coins (3) may pertain to a king possibly ruling in the later half of the first century B.C. The coins of types 2 & 3 of Class II (Nevasa coin Nos. 4, 7, 1 and 3) may belong to a later king ruling in the first half of the first century A.D. The coins of type 4 of Class II bearing the name Sātavāhana (my coin No. 4) may belong to a king who ruled just preceding the reign of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi as the paleographical features of this coin are quite similar to those of the later Sātavāhana Kings. S. L. Katare's assertion[1] that all these coins, whether with the name Sātavāhana or Sadavahana along with variation in paleography should be ascribed to the same king and the difference in motif and style of inscribing letters is only due to the change of region, seems to be oblivious of reality and so requires substantial supportive evidence before we should accept it.

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[1] *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 86-89.

[2] P. L. Gupta, *Punch-marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, pp. 31-33.

[3] C. Somasundara Rao, *JNSI*, XXIX, Pt. I, pp. 1-8.

[4] C. Somasundara Rao, *JNSI*, XXIX, Pt. I, pp. 6, 8.

[5] *Indian Studies past and present*, VII, pp. 65-66.

From the above facts, it is explicit that there were several rulers who assumed the name Sādavāhana or Sātavāhana on coins and that it is not conclusively established that the progenitor of this dynasty was King Sātavāhana. Hence, the naming of this dynasty as Sātavāhana dynasty is a misnomer and it will be more appropriate to revert back to the original name 'Andhra dynasty' as mentioned in the *Purāṇas* rather than adopting the name Sātavāhana dynasty.

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[1] *JNSI*, XXXII, Pt. II, pp. 46-57 ff. and references cited therein.

THE SO-CALLED COINS OF VIJAYA AND CHAKORA SĀTAKARṆIS

P. L. GUPTA

Dinkar Rao had published in this *Journal* two Sātavāhana coins, on which he read *Raño Chakora Sātakaṇisa*[1] and *Vijaya Sātakaṇisa*[2] and claimed that they were unknown coins. V. V. Mirashi doubted his readings and said that what was read as *Raño Chakora Sātakaṇisa* was simply *Ra(ño) Sātakaṇisa*[3] and that which was read as *Vijaya Sātakaṇisa* was *Samasa Sara Satakanasa.*[4] Then A. H. Siddiqui, published some coins bearing the legend *Rajño Siri Sātakaṇisa.* They were of the same type as published by Dinkar Rao with the so-called legend of Chakora. He pointed out that Dinkar Rao and Marashi both were not correct in their readings of the legend. The coin has the same legend as those he was publishing i. e. *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa.*[5]

Now after a lapse of about a decade, Dinkar Rao has come with a rejoinder to the notes of Mirashi and Siddiqui, maintaining that his original readings were correct. This time, he has given the copy of the legends, as his eyes have seen on the coins. In a foot-note to this rejoinder, he explains the reason of delay in publishing this rejoinder. Before sending the rejoinder for publication, he wanted to show these coins to Mirashi and to explain him the way he read the legend; he could do so only a year back. He further adds in this foot-note that these coins were also shown to A. M. Shastri and he agreed with his readings.[6] By this note he means to impress upon the readers that his readings have been accepted by the two scholars and there should now be no controversy about them.

Since these scholars have not expressed their views in their own words, I am not sure of what Dinkar Rao says. This, however, does not mean that I disbelieve him, what I mean to say is that I am surprised to know that they have agreed to Dinkar Rao's reading. Dinkar Rao, in his rejoinder, concedes

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1. *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 18-19.
2. Ibid, pp. 68-69.
3. Ibid, XXII, p. 116.
4. Ibid, pp. 116-117.
5. Ibid, XXVIII, p. 56.
6. Ibid, XXXVII, pp. 145-46.

to scholars, the right of challenging one's reading of coin-legends and of suggesting alternatives. So, he should not bank upon what Mirashi or Shastri had felt on seeing the coins, to hold his own readings and to maintain that his coins were unique. I hope he would calmly try to understand what others have to say about his readings. And with this hope, I humbly dare to say that the readings of Dinkar Rao are not correct; if Mirashi and Shastri have accepted his readings, they have failed to give serious thought to the legends.

For the reading *Vijaya Sātakaṇisa,* Dinkar Rao reads the legend from XII to IV from inside as *Vijaya* and then from outside XI to V as *Sātakaṇisa.* The suggestion that a part of the legend is to be read clockwise and the other in opposite direction is in itself ridiculous and unknown throughout the history of the world numismatics. Only three ways of placing the legends on the coins are known all over the world : (i) To begin the legend from any point of the clock and move clock-wise and read it from inside; (ii) To begin the legend from any point of the clock and move anti-clockwise so that the legend could be read from outside; (iii) To put the early part of legend from IX (or near about) and carry it upto III (or near about) clock-wise to read it from inside; and then to place the remaining part of the legend at IX (or near about) and carry it upto III (or near about) anti-clockwise, but again to be read only from left to right i. e. in the same way as the upper part of the legend. Any fourth way of depicting the legends on the coins is unknown. If Dinkar Rao had found the legend on his coin written in a different way he should have first pondered over this strange way of presenting the legend, quite different than the known practices and he should have tried to find out a parallel instance of presenting legends in that way. In absence of any such instance, he ought to have tried to see if the legend was something else than what he reads and what else could be meaningfully read in any of the three normal ways mentioned above. If he did not do so, while writing his first note, he should have given thought to the matter after he had the comments of Mirashi. If he was still unsatisfied with Mirashi's comments, he should have first explained the objections raised by him against his partial reading of the legend clockwise and partial anti-clockwise. But in his rejoinder, he is still silent on this point; and Mirashis' objection still stands. Unless it is explained, the rejoinder has no meaning. The eye-copy given by Dinkar Rao with the rejoinder, makes it much more clear that what he has read as *vijaya* between XII and IV could easily be read as *Raño Siri,* if it is read from IV to XII anti-clockwise i. e. from outside, the way

Dinkar Rao has read the remaining part of the legend *Sātakaṇisa*. Keeping the photograph of the coin that he has published with his original note[1] and his eye-copy given in the rejoinder[2] along with the coins of the same type published in the *Journal* or unpublished existing in other collections, any one would immediately realise that Dinkar Rao has taken the crescent over the hill (which is generally seen a little above the hill) and the letter *ri* (which is found above the crescent in between the two ends of the crescent) together to imagine the letter *vi*. Again the photograph shows that there are two letters between IV (straight to the base line of the hill on the right) and III, if seen outwardly. The first letter is truncated; only the top serif is visible. Then there is a gap followed by the top half of the letter *ño*. Dinkar Rao has placed these two truncated letters into one to read it as *ya*; but even in this case, according to the photograph of the coin, the form of the letter would be something like *pa* or *ha* but never *ya*. The letter to the right of the cresent, if seen from inside, no doubt, gives some impression of the letter *ja* with incomplete lower limb; but if it is seen from outside, it would be clear that it is the part of the letter *sa*, though not very clear. As such, there could be no doubt that the entire legend is to be read from outside as is found on many coins of the same type and it is *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa* and never *Vijaya Sātakaṇisa*.

Now coming to his second coin, on which Dinkar Rao reads the legend *Chakora Sātakarṇi* with the restoration of *Rajño* in the begining and *sa* at the end. This coin is of the Chanda-Tarhala type and is made of poṭin. A careful examination of the coins of this type would show that the name of the ruler is always at the back of the elephant and all the letters are distinct, boldly engraved. The photograph of the coin given by Dinkar Rao with his original note[3] shows that only four letters are clear; of them there is no dispute about *sa ta* and *ka*. I do not see *ṇi* anywhere in the photograph; but its existence need not be disputed, as by presumption iṭ should be there. Now to suggest the word *Chakora*, Dinkar Rao has ingeniously seen *ra* over *sa*. We come to know this from his eye-copy. Though I do not see it there even if its existence be admitted, it is neccessary to show that *ra* is ever written in this way. Only conjoint *r* may be written in that form, but even in that case the form of *r* would not be so short as seen by Dinkar Rao, and the reading would be *rsa*. In this case, *Chakorsa* and never

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[1] Ibid, XXI, Pl. I. 5.

[2] Ibid, XXVIII, p. 146.

[3] Ibid, XXI, Pl. I. 3.

Chakorasa. If *Chakorsa* was meant for *Chakorasa*, as Dinkar Rao wants us to believe, one has yet to be convinced about the neccessity of placing *ra* in such a odd way. The paucity of space is no excuse. This by itself makes the reading *Chakora* an imaginary one.

Then before *rsa,* Dinkar Rao sees *ka,* while even to a naked eye it is clearly *ño*. The two hooks are not in a line and there is nothing over the two hooks to suggest in any way its reading as *ka*. Before this letter i. e. to the left of *ño* is an indistinct patch, which is taken by Dinkar Rao as *cha*. Had it been meant for *cha* it should have been bold like other letters; and in case of partial impression, the form should have undoubtedly been differrent from what it appears now. I would not take the risk to say that it represents any letter; but if it does, it could only be *ra*. The legend as available on the coin is *ño Sataka.* The full legend would be *Raño Sātakaṇisa*, as was rightly pointed out by Mirashi.

SOURCE OF GOLD FOR EARLY GOLD COINS OF INDIA

UPENDRA THAKUR

I

It is strange that no specimen of gold coin before the time of the Kushāṇas has been found in India though literary source suggests the Vedic origin of gold currency. We are, however, not sure of the position of gold-currency in pre-Kushāṇa periods.[1] The Kushāṇas for the first time issued gold coins presumably due to the extensive volume of trade between India and Rome[2] in the early centuries of the Christian era. Kujula is said to have encouraged traders to introduce coinage on Roman pattern[3] to meet the growing demands of the international market. The Romans were also following the same trend, and this led to some amount of uniformity between the currency-systems of the Romans and the Kushāṇas. It is suggested that there was a certain degree of inflation in the international market in the second and third centuries A. D. which in turn effected changes both in the Kushāṇa and Roman coinages. The Kushāṇas met this situation by maintaining the *dīnāra* at a constant weight though in course of time they had to debase the gold quality whereas the Romans preserved the quality of their *aurius* but progressively reduced its weight.[4]

The Kushāṇas were followed by the Guptas whose reign-period marks the hey-day of numismatic art in India. Taking incentive from the Kushāṇas, the Gupta monarchs issued gold coins in different types and varieties. As we know, Samudragupta issued gold coins of at least six types some of which are

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1. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Vol. I (Indo-Greek Coins), Pt. I, Oxford, 1914, p. 9.
2. E. H. Warmington, *Commerce Between Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 291, 296-97.
3. Ibid., p. 298; Robert Göbl, "Roman Patterns for Kushāṇa Coins", *Journal af the Numismatic Society of India*, XXII, 1960, pp. 78-79. R.E.M. Wheeler, *India Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, Harmondsworth, 1955, pp. 200-202. D. W. MacDowall, "The Weight Standard of the Gold and Copper coinage of the Kushāṇa Dynasty", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXII, 1960, pp. 67-68 etc.
4. U. Thakur, *Mints and Minting in India*, Varanasi, 1972, pp. 81-82; MacDowall, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXII, 1960, pp. 63-64.

the finest specimens of numismatic art. The tradition was brilliantly maintained by his successors who issued different varieties of gold coins.

The Hūṇa invasion towards the middle of the fifth century A. D. gave a rude setback to the economy of the country. The various settlements of the traders in different parts of western and eastern India were completely disturbed, hampering their commercial activities. The stringent economic condition of the period is reflected, though, indirectly, in some of the epigraphic records of Skandagupta and of the later Gupta kings, as well as the debased gold currency issued by the former. The brilliant tradition of numismatic art in gold was sharply on decline and was finally given up a few years after the death of Skandagupta.[1]

This disturbed condition resulting in political instability completely disrupted India's direct trade with the Roman empire from seventh century A. D. The following century witnessed the conquest of Sind by the Arabs and their emergence as trading communities in the Persian gulf greatly affected the import of Roman gold into India. These factors were directly responsible for the sharp decline in gold coinage in the successive periods in the eastern provinces.

Thus, after the fall of the Imperial Guptas one no longer comes across the varieties of coin-motifs and designs beautifully executed and artistically perfected. The brilliant style is gone never to return. Coins were no doubt issued in gold in early medieval period by the Rajput Kings of different dynasties but their number is comparatively small and quality too debased to warrant any serious notice.

II

Although the number of gold coins issued by the early Indian kings is far less compared to silver (including punch-marked) and copper coins, the gold contents of the coins issued by the Kushāṇas and the Guptas reveal a much higher percentage than those issued in later periods. The impression one gets from the early gold coins is that under the Kushāṇas and the Guptas they were minted in large numbers and there was no paucity of gold. The question, therefore, arises : wherefrom the Kushāṇas and the Guptas obtained so much of gold that they could issue far more gold coins than their successors whose gold coins are mostly debased.[1] We propose to investigate this problem by working out possible clues which would give a rough idea of the source of gold in early days.

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[1] U. Thakur, *The Hūṇas in India*, Varanasi, 1967, pp. 224-26, 277.

Since remote times gold has been popular in India which is indicated by the following words used for it in different Indian languages : *son, gser, survaṇa, hiraṇya, pown, bungarum, mas, kanchana, shwel, run, tibr, zahab, tilla, zir,* etc.[2] Because of its softness, colour, lustre and non-tarnishing quality gold ornaments have been highly valued. It was then, and is now, largely employed by the richer classes for the purpose of personal adornment or in the ornamentation of sacred buildings, palaces etc.[3] Since early days it has been used for coinage and even when modern international economy has necessitated the removal of gold standard in coinage, international monetary transactions still presume a backing of gold.[4]

At present gold in small quantity is recovered from the mines in Mysore and some other places. Modern methods of mining gold ore were adopted towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when most of the ancient workings were surveyed and found to be unprofitable except the Kolar gold mine in Mysore, the Hutti gold field in Hyderabad and the North Anantpur field in Madras. The Kolar gold field was found to be the richest among them, and more than 99 per cent of gold now produced in India comes from four mines : Coregum, Champion, Nundydroog, and Mysore in the Kolar gold field.[5] The auriferous lodes of the Kolar gold-fields consist of a series of parallel quantz veins which occupy a central position in the belt of Dharwar schists. Although there are several parallel veins, it is on the Champion lode that paying mines have been developed The attention of the European prospectors was directed to this area by numerous native workings of unknown age, and since operations commenced on a large scale, shortly after 1880, the gold extracted upto the end of 1903 reached a value of nearly 19 million sterlings.[6]

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1. For other details, see J. C. Brown and A. K. Dey, *India's Mineral Wealth* (London, 1935), p. 142; Meher D. N. Wadia, *Geology in India,* MacMillan, London, 1957, pp. 93ff; G. Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, London, 1908. pp. 565 ff.
2. Ibid., pp. 565 ff; V. Ball, *Economic Geology of India,* III, Calcutta, 1905, pp. 173-230, 608-16.
3. G. Watt, op. cit., p.568.
4. Meher D. N. Wadia, *Minerals of India,* Calcutta, 1905, pp. 94-95.
5. B. N. Sastri, *The Wealth of India*, Pt. IV (ed.), Delhi, 1957, p. 164.
6. G. Watt, op. cit., p. 567; M. D. N. Wadia, op. cit., pp. 94, 96-97.

Gold is also obtained in Orissa (along streams in the district of Sambalpur, Koraput, Angul and Cuttack); Midnapur, Baghmundi Thana of Purulia district and Bankura (West Bengal); Chhotanagpur, parts of the districts of Manbhum and Singhbhum on the banks of Suvarṇarekhā and its tributaries in Bihar. The Suvarṇarekhā (gold streak) river, as the name suggests, is well known for the gold content of its sands. After heavy rains the local villagers wash and obtain from the river and stream-stands small quantities of gold.[1] Gold is also found in Bijnor, Nainital, and Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh where the general method of working is the washing of auriferous sands found in the beds of rivers such as Rāmagaṅgā, Sukhar Sot, Phike and Khoh in the Nagina Tahsil of the Bijnor district.[2] In early times gold was obtained by washing alluvium from the Son river close to the south-east border of Garhwal near Kalagarh.[3] Alluvial gold also occurs in Madhya Pradesh in the sands and gravels of many rivers, particularly Son, Deo and Ib.[4]

The occurrence of gold in Chattor district and Rāmagiri in Anantpur district in Andhra Pradesh; in the sands of the Himalayan rivers and Simla hills particularly in Bilaspur district; Jammu and Kashmir; the Waynad goldfield in Gudalur of Nilgiri district having old mines as well as the Bensibetta hill tracts in Gobichettipalayam taluk of Coimbatore district and in some parts of Dharmapuri and Krishnagiri taluk of Salem district in Madras is well known.[5]

Small quantities of gold occur in the river-sands of upper Assam. Although gold occurrences have been recorded from several Assam rivers, the Subarṇasiri river-bed was the best gold-producing area in Assam in early days. Maclaren[6] has exhaustively dealt with the origin of gold mining in Assam where the *Sonwals* carried the gold-washing industry since remote times. Commenting on his paper Holland[7] remarks that the most striking feature of the gold deposits of the Assam Valley is the universaldistribution of the metal in small percentages throughout the gravel of the river-beds.

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[1] M. D. N. Wadia, op. cit., p. 95. Literary evidence also supports mining operations in Bihar a few centuries before the Christian era as Ajātaśatru is said to have quarelled with the Lichchhavis on the issue of the share of some jewel mines operated in partnership (H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1953 (6th Edn.), pp. 211-13).

[2] G. Watt, op. cit., pp. 565-68.

[3] B. N. Sastri, op. cit., p. 166.

[4] Ibid., p. 166.

[5] M. D. N. Wadia, op. cit., pp. 94-96.

[6] *Records of the Geological Survey of India*, 1904, XXXI, pt. IV, pp. 205-32.

[7] Ibid., 1905, XXXII, p. 140.

Although vein-gold occurs in limited areas, the distribution of alluvial gold in India is, however, much wider. Alluvial gold washing has been carried on since remote times in the sands and gravels of many of the rivers of Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Assam and Orissa and in sections of Indus Valley at Ladakh, Baltistan and Gilgit.[1] The gold and silver thread industry appears to have originated in India in early times which, however, attained great importance under the patronage of the Mughal emperors and woven fabrics such as *Zardozi*, *Kalabatun*, *Qashidah* and *Qalghai* produced in India were renowned all over the world and considerable quantities were exported to Italy, Germany and France. Even at the present time Surat and Vārāṇasī (Banaras) are the main centres of gold and silver production.[2]

The present-day production of gold in India has declined to less than 5,000 kg. (175,000 Ozs)[3].

Thus it would be seen that though the quantity of gold extracted from these sources is not sizable enough keeping in view its importance in modern economic transactions, yet India had considerable reserve of gold in early period. Further it may be presumed that in ancient times when labour was cheap, it may have been worthwhile to extract gold from such reserves in huge quantity, which, compared to silver in those days, was much larger and conveniently within the reach of the kings. It may therefore be safely suggested that it was mostly from these indigenous sources that the kings obtained gold in considerable quantity for making coins in the early period. An analysis of the evidences pertaining to the availability of gold of native origin in earlier periods would further support our point.

As noted above, ancient working of gold mines, some of them more than a thousand years old, are extant in Mysore, Hyderabad, Dharwar and other places in South India.[4] In Madras, the Wynad gold-field, the Bensibetta Hill tracts, parts of Dharmapuri and Krishnagiri *taluk* of Salem district are some of the old mines where existence of gold is revealed by many signs of ancient gold-working in diggings, heaps of crushed quartz and stone mortars which have

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1. M. D. N. Wadia, op. cit., p. 98.
2. B. N. Sastri, op. cit., pp. 176-81.
3. M. D. N. Wadia, op. cit., p. 98.
4. B. N. Sastri, op. cit., p. 164.

guided the attention of the present workers to the existence of gold.[1] In north India also, a few ancient workings have been discovered, particularly in Chhotanagpur in Bihar[2] and also from parts of the districts of Balaghat, Bastar, Bilaspur, Jashpur, Mandi, Raipur and Seoni in Madhya Pradesh.[3] Washing for alluvial gold has been practised for a long time in every State and even today there are various places in the country where local inhabitants recover gold in small quantity by this method.

In ancient times the gold mines in Mysore, Hyderabad and Madras were famous for gold production.[4] Since early historic times, gold has been supplied to the rest of India from the south, i. e., from Hyderabad, Mysore and Madras. Some of the ancient mines there can still be seen. It seems that the Harappans also got their gold from there, as many of the gold ornaments found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa are alloyed with a substantial percentage of silver and this alloy called electrum, is said to be found only in the Kolar gold-fields of Mysore and at Anantapura in Madras and nowhere else. It is possible that some of this gold was collected from the alluvial sand of the river Indus as well.[5] In other words, besides the mines, gold was also procured in rich quantity from the river-beds of the Indus and other rivers.[6] Ancient deposits of gold were found also in the mountains near the country of Sopeithes in the West of the Jhelum river in Punjab. Herodotus also testifies that the desert tract to the east of the Indus was quite rich in gold.[7] In the east, Assam was fomous for gold washing industry. Even during the time of the Ahoms, the State employed thousands of labourers called *Sonwals* for gold washing work. They paid customs duties to the Government in gold dust. It may be suggested that East Bengal also benefitted by the gold-washing industry carried on by the *Sonwals* in the latter's rivers. The antiquity of the gold-washing

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1. M. D. N. Wadia, op. cit., p. 96.
2. B. N. Sastri, op. cit., p. 164.
3. M. D. N. Wadia, op. cit., p. 96.
4. J. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II, Cambridge, 1951, p. 620.
5. O. P. Jaggi, *Dawn of Indian Techonology*, Delhi, 1969, p. 114.
6. Strabo, *Geography*, (ed. Meineke, Leipzig, 1866-67), XV.1.69; Tr. H. C. Hamilton and W. Falconer, London, 1854-57; Tr. W. J. MacCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*. (Westminister, 1901).
7. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, Westminster, 1901, p. 3; A. N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, I, Calcutta, 1942, p. 219.

industry in Assam is also attested by the *Arthaśāstra* which refers to Suvarṇakuṇḍya famous for gold in Kāmarūpa.[1]

We are told that the Indian Satrapy paid an annual tribute of 320 talents of gold to Persia as early as fifth century B. C. This gold was probably procured from the gold mines said to exist in Sind in the time of Alexander.[2] Though the Kolar gold fields lay outside the Kushāṇa empire, the Kushāṇas might have exploited the gold mines of Dalbhum which was within the sphere of their influence. Stein[3] discusses the gold-digging at Yotkan and mentions the instances where he found gold employed by the artists of the sand engulfed ruins. These date from the 3rd to 8th centuries A. D. But, while he found gold-leaf extensively employed in the ornamentation of the idols, statuary, etc., he makes no mention of having come across examples of fabric with gold wire (thread).

We have some references in the *Old Testament* also. The products mentioned in the account of the Ophir trade are gold, silver, precious stones, ivory, sandalwood, apes and peacocks. If Max Müller and others be eorrect in identifying India with the Ophir of the Scripture, the present production is possibly only a tithe of what it has been. According to Napier (*Metallurgy of the Bible*) king David derived, through the trade of Ophir, gold to a valuation of £ 600,000,000.[4] According to some scholars, Ophir resembles Ābhira,[5] but Lassen identifies it with the Indian city, Sophir (Suppāraka). Another Indian name resembling Ophir is Sauvīra.[6] Others, however, fix Ophir on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, but admit that it was a trading centre

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1. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 3 ff. [During the Ahom period gold was regularly washed from several rivers in Assam. King Rajeśvara Siṃha (1751-69 A. D.) is known to have receieved 2,500 Ozs. of gold annually from the people of Assam. Sonwals paid Rs. 5 worth of gold per annum. About 10,000 people were engaged in gold washing. cf. N. K. Basu, *Assam in the Ahom Age* (Calcutta, 1970), pp. 175 f. Suvarṇakuḍya "Still exists, being now known as Soṇkuḍihā and commonly pronounced as Sonkurihā". cf. K. L. Barua, *Studies' in the Early History of Assam*, (1973), pp. 221-22. *JPS*.]
2. Strabo, op. cit., XV. 1. 34.
3. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907, pp. 192-94, 210, 224, 381, 496; G. Watt, op. cit., p. 568.
4. G. Watt, op. cit., p. 568.
5. L. Gopal, *Chronology of the Punch-marked Coins* (henceforth *CPC*), Varanasi, 1966, p. 73.
6. Ibid., p. 73.

dealing with India. As most of the commodities mentioned in the Scripture are of Indian origin and their names clearly derived from Sanskrit words[1], it would imply that India exported gold in the early period. Pliny also speaks of Indian gold coming from the country of the Narease (the Nayars of Malabar), and thus practically the Myosre mines.[2] Another reference in the *Old Testament* says that king Solomon's (963-923 B. C.) "navy of Tharshish" brought him every three years ivory, gold, silver, apes and peacocks. As most of these articles are of Indian origin it would further support export of Indian gold a few hundred years before the Christian era.

That India was rich in gold is also attested by the *Indika* of Megasthenes which says : "While the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits, which are known to cultivation, it has also underground numerous veins of all sorts of metal, for it contains *much gold* and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war."[3] This observation is also supported by the eminent geologist, V. Ball who quotes the statement of Megasthenes as being absolutely true.[4] As noted above, Strabo[5], on the testimony of Gorgos says that good mines of gold and silver existed in other mountains not far from the Salt Range in the Punjab. Hsuan Tsang also speaks of gold and silver as the natural products of India[6], and refers specifically to gold alongwith silver as being available from Śatadru[7] (River Sutlej), Bolor[8] and Takka.[9] Sulaiman[10] and Al Masudi[11] also refer to gold and silver mines in the kingdom of Kanauj as well as in the Kingdom of Rahma[12] which

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1. Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London, 1912, p. 175; Majumdar and Pusalkar, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay, 1955, p. 612.
2. G. Watt, op. cit., p. 568.
3. MacCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*. London, 1887, p. 30.
4. V. Ball, *Economic Geology of India*, Calcutta, 1905, Intro. p. XV; *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 1882, p. 582.
5. Strabo, XV. 1.30; McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, Westminster, 1921, p. 38.
6. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1884, New Edition, 1906, p. 89.
7. Ibid., p. 178.
8. S. Beal, op. cit., p. 135.
9. Ibid., pp. 165ff.
10. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by its own Historians*, London, 1867-77, Vol. I, p. 4.
11. Ibid., p. 4.
12. Ferrand, *Textes*, Paris, 1913-14, pp. 44, 105.

has been wrongly identified by some scholars with the Pala Kingdom.[1] As Bengal is not known to have gold and silver, it is rightly suggested that the Arab accounts of Rahma have jumbled up Bengal with Lower Burma and Pegu where these metals were found in large quantity in early days.[2] In Lower Burma the district of Mergui was one of the richest in alluvial gold in the world.[3] Reference to gold mines is also found in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, (16th century) of Abul Fazl.[4] According to Antonises, "traders in India tell us that the Indians give their own wares in exchange for those of the Greeks without employing money, even though they have gold and copper in abundance."[5]

III

Besides the local sources, much gold was brought to the Kushāṇa Kingdom from the Oxus region which occupied a very advantageous position to procure gold from places outside the Kushāṇa empire. Moreover, the Kushāṇas imported gold not only from Scythia (which now forms part of South Russia between the Carpathians and Caucasus) but also from the Ural and Altai regions.[6] The classical writers have referred to a legend about the gold-digging ants which is connected with the import of gold into India by some aboriginal tribes of ancient India.[7] The *Mahābhārata* also mentions the gold-digging ants as *paipalika*.[8] We are further told that the gold seekers of India also brought gold from Suvarnabhūmi (South-East Asia).[9]

It has been suggested by some scholars that there is no archaeological proof to support the view that the Kushāṇas obtained their gold from Central Asia, for the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad does not contain any gold object of Kushāṇa times.[1] We fail to understand how the non-existence of Kushāṇa gold coins or objects in the above Museum would explain the fact that the Kushāṇas did not obtain gold from Central Asia. It is not necessary that Kushāṇa gold coins should be found in the Museum under reference when we know that even in India Kushāṇa gold coins are not to be found in most of the famous museums.

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[1] R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, Dacca, 1943, Vol. I, p. 122.

[2] Coedes, *Histoire Ancienne des Etats Hindouises d'Extreme Orient*, Hanoi, 1944, p. 135; L. Gopal, *CPC*, p. 74.

[3] Nisbet, *Burma Under British Rule and Before*, London, 1901, Vol. I, pp. 347, 397; *Records of the Geological Survey of India*, XXV, 1892, p. 129; XXVI, 1893, pp. 7, 48, 163; XXVII, 1894, Pt. i, pp. 10-11, 117, 122-23; XIX, 1886, Pt. iv, pp. 268ff.

[4] B. K. Sarkar, *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, Allahabad, 1914, p. 97.

[5] Pausanius, III. xii. 3.

[6] G. L. Adhya, *Early Indian Economics*, Bombay, 1966, p. 180; U. Thakur, *Mints and Minting in India* (henceforth *MMI*), Varanasi, 1972, p. 83.

[7] Arrian's, *Anabasis*, Leipzig, 1907, XV. 6; U. Thakur, *MMI*, p. 83.

[8] W. W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. 100-8.

[9] Ibid., pp. 107-8; A. N. Bose, op. cit., p. 219.

According to Western scholars, some of the gold coins of the Kushāṇas were minted out of the Roman gold received through trade from the Roman traders.[2] The Romans in turn obtained their gold from Africa and also the Caucasus area and the supply from Africa did not stop until the Muslim invasion in the 8th century A. D. The Kushāṇas maintained close contacts with the Roman empire whence they obtained gold as a result of trade through the silk route which passed through their empire.[3] The above facts would clearly demonstrate that while much gold was available in the native mines, gold was obtained from outside during this period mostly through trade which facilitated smooth coining in gold during the Kushāṇa period and later.[4]

Although the Gupta empire carried on trade with the Eastern Roman empire, the volume of trade was considerably less than what India had with the Eastern Roman empire during the first century A. D. The Guptas might have obtained gold from the eastern part of the Roman empire through trade and also from China and South-East Asia. They also procured some gold from the South Indian gold fields, the high period of whose working corresponds with the first two centuries of the Christian era.[5] Samudragupta might have got gold from Assam and other local mines as well as from the South Indian kings who were in possession of the famous Kolar mines. Besides this, gold was also available in large quantity from the merchants who were settled in western coast and imported gold from the West, particularly Rome, which found way into central and eastern parts of the country by way of trade-routes.

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[1] *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXXI, 1969, p. 2.

[2] Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, London, 1888-92, p. 38; E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Strassburg, 1897, pp. 17-18; R. E. M. Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, Harmondsworth, 1955, pp. 169-70; U. Thakur, *MMI*, p. 84.

[3] *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXXI, 1969, p. 3.

[4] U. Thakur, *MMI*, p. 84.

[5] F. R. Allchin, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. V, pt. ii, 1962, p. 211.

These merchants usually carried their merchandise from the eastern parts of India into the Island countries in the eastern archipelago by sea.[1]

The Roman traders are said to have imported gold in the shape of coins in the Tamil region to purchase the local commodities. The *Periplus* also refers to a large number of Roman gold and silver coins as well as silver and gold plates being imported into the market-town of Barygaza, Muziris and Nelcynda.[2] From the Tamil poems of the Samgama age we learn that the *Yavanas* imported gold into Muziris and other parts of the Tamil land.[3] The Tamil literature further reveals that trade in pearls with foreign countries was conducted by the Tamils exchanging pearls and other articles of commerce with gold and other rare articles.[4] The Tamil poem *Maduraik Kanchi* says that the merchants used to take pearls and gold from the Pāṇdyan kingdom and sold them in the countries where they were scarce.[5] The lure for pearls from South India drained the Roman empire of atleast 55 million sasterces (nearly a million pounds)[6] a year, which is attested by the discovery of Roman gold coins in the Tinnevelly district of Madras and elsewhere.[7] From the Tamil Poem *Silappadhikaram* (Canto V) we further learn that Maruvurpakkam, situated near the seaside beach of Kaveri-pattinam, was inhabited mainly by the traders in corals, pearl, gold and other precious stones.[8] According to Pliny and Tacitus[9], the flow of Roman currency into India was in exchange for its commercial products. While most of the imported coins were employed as currency, they were used only as bullion to be weighed out in exchange for goods or silver and gold ornaments.[10] It is also possible that some of these Roman gold coins were turned into fresh gold coins both by the Kushāṇas and the Guptas.[11]

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[1] U. Thakur, *MMI* pp. 87-88.

[2] W. H. Schoff., *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London, 1912, pp. 39, 42, 49, 56; E. H. Warmington, op. cit., pp. 276-79.

[3] Kanakasabhai Pillai, *Tamils Eighteen hundred Years Ago*, Madras, 1904, pp. 25-27.

[4] M. S. Shukla, *Gem-Industry in Ancient and Eedieval India* (henceforth *GIAMI*), Varaṇasi, 1972, p. 34.

[5] Kanakasabhai Pillai, op. cit., p. 31.

[6] M. S. Shukla, *GIAMI*, p. 35.

[7] Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, Harmondsworth, 1955, p. 34.

[8] For details, see Ibid., pp. 34-44.

[9] Pliny, XII. 41; Tacitus, *Annals*, III. 53.

[10] Wheeler, op. cit., p. 167.

[11] Also Cf. R. M. Cimino and F. Scialpi, *India and Italy*, Rome, 1974, pp. 31-32.

Numismatic evidence also supports the above view. The debasement of Roman gold coins during the period of Nero and the non-availability of old and genuine Roman gold coins in the Indian market resulted in sharp dwindling in the volume of trade between Rome and India in the succeeding period. This process was further accelerated by the restrictions imposed on the export of gold by Vespasian of which we get an echo in Pliny's accounts.[1] We are told that after Vespasian, the Roman traders preferred the markets of Surāshtra to the Tamil region. Warmington suggests that while there was partial cessation of Roman trade in Tamil land, "the change was not in the nature or scope of trade but in the medium of exchange"[2], as after Vespasian, with the stoppage of the export of gold, the exchange of goods between the Tamilians and the Romans was carried through barter.

Besides Rome, gold was also obtained from other sources. It would appear from the account of Abu Zaid that formerly India used to get dinārs, called *Sindiat* (probably minted in Sind), emeralds from Egypt and coral and *dahnaj* (a stone resembling emerald). But the cessation of trade in these articles soon stopped the flow of gold from West as the latter had found another profitable item of export to India[3], i. e. horse, which was increasingly required for use in war by the Indian kings.[4] This naturally caused a serious drain on the gold reserve of the Indian kings who had to pay in gold for purchasing the Arab horses at exorbitant rates. We can have an idea of this regular drain from the fact that by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries "this trade had reached astounding heights"[5], and according to Wassaf[6], each horse cost 220 dinārs of 'red gold' (= 550 *saggi* of Marco Polo = 550/6 Oz)[7] and the total number of horses which Ma'bar, Kambayat and other ports received was 14,000 costing 2,2000,000 dinārs for the Pandyan kingdom alone. According to Marco Polo[8], each of the Pāṇḍyan kings purchased every year 2000 horses at the rate of 500 *saggi* (= 500/6 Oz) of gold per horse. He further observes that each horse from the Persian Gulf was sold at 200 livres of Persian money (£ 193 according to Yule).[1]

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[1] Pliny, XII. 41; VI. 101.

[2] *Commerce Between Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 392-94.

[3] Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 11.

[4] For details, See L. Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, (henceforth *ELNI* Delhi, 1965, pp. 153-54.

[5] Ibid., p. 153.

[6] Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 33-34.

[7] Yule, *Marco Polo*, London, 1903, II, p. 349 fn.

[8] Ibid., p. 340.

China was yet another country from which gold was obtained by Indian merchants and traders. From the accounts of Marco Polo we learn that India received clothes of silk and gold as well as 'sandals' (a silk textile) from China.[2] An inscription of the seventh year of the reign of Rājendra (A. D. 1019) discovered from Tanjore, speaks of an endowment in terms of Chinese gold made by a certain merchant.[3] Besides this, fifteen coins discovered at Tanjore representing almost the entire Sung period, show that the Arabs could not wrest from India especially, its southern parts, its share of the Chinese trade howsoever it might have dwindled.[4] A South Indian envoy sent to China during the reign of Seuen-Woo (A. D. 500-16) is said to have reported to the Chinese emperor that his kingdom produced diamonds, gold, copper, iron etc.[5] It is important to note in this connection that in 1296 A. D. the Chinese attempted to prohibit the export of gold and silver and limit the value of the trade with Maʾbar (Coromandel), Keelam (Quilon) and Pandaraina (Pantalayini Kollam) to a relatively small sum of money. A Tamil inscription of the early years of the eleventh century indicates that South India was receiving Chinese gold during this period probably through Indonesia.[6] From the Arab accounts we learn that horns of rhinoceros exported from Rahma to China sometimes fetched 2,000 or even 4,000 dinārs each.[7] A business magnate of Anhilvada is said to have returned from a foreign land with a sum of four crore gold pieces. Similarly foreign merchants coming to Cambay brought with them gold and silver.[8] According to Tavernier[9], China sent silver in exchange for silk and gold from river-washings of Assam and Northern Burma.

A brisk trade with Suvarṇabhūmi (South-East Asia) also fetched much gold from different countries such as Jāvā, Sumātrā, Champā etc. Marco Polo

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1. Ibid., I, 83.
2. Ibid., II. 390; II, 24, 132, 152, 157, 176, 181.
3. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* XX, 1958, p. 13.
4. L. Gopal, *ELNI*, pp. 135-36.
5. M. S. Shukla, *GIAMI*, pp. 1ff.
6. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* XX, 1958, p. 13.
7. Ferrand, *Textes*, Paris, 1913-14, pp. 44, 105.
8. *Marco Polo*, II, 395; 398.
9. III. 16; Schoff, op. cit., p. 259.

says that the foreign merchants coming to Cambay brought with them, besides other things, gold, silver, copper etc. The ships coming to Malabar from the east brought copper in ballast as well as gold and silver.[1] It was the lure of gold which had attracted the Indians to these islands. This is also reflected in a Gujarātī traditional verse which says that he who goes to Jāvā (Javadīpa famous for gold) never returns and, if ever he returns he brings back enough money to live on for two generations.[2] In old Bengali songs, Champa is the city wherefrom traders and merchants started for their coastal trade along the course of the Ganga and the sea. The epithet 'the product of Suvarṇadvīpa' applied to gold in the *Vaijayantī*[3] would imply the export of gold from Suvarṇadvīpa to India."[4] From a story in a Jaina text, *Samarāichchakahā*[5] we learn that Indian merchants while returning from Suvarṇadvīpa used to bring with them blocks of gold marked with their names. The *Tilakamañjarī* says that one could see in the islands many mines of gold, gems and silver and also abundance of pearls in the heaps of oysters piled in enormus quality and gold and silver "were neglected as if equal to dust."[6] Making allowance for exaggerations in these accounts, it can however, be said that South-East Asian countries were quite famous for their wealth in those days where merchants flocked from India and other countries to earn more gold through sale of their merchandise which is also attested by the Jātaka stories.

IV

As regards the antiquity of gold coins in India, archaeology unfortunately does not offer much positive information. Inspite of literary and sculptural representations no actual gold coins have been discovercd from excavations so far. Curiously enough, no gold coins of the time of the Nandas, traditionally believed to have amassed fabulous wealth in the form of coined money or of the Śuṅgas who performed Aśvamedha sacrifices in which gold coins were required to be given as *dakshiṇā* to the officiating priests have been found. Though Pushyamitra Śuṅga is credited to have announced the award of one hundred gold coins to a person for severing the head of a Buddhist monk, not a single specimen of his time has come to light.

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1. *Marco Polo*, II 390.
2. A. K. Forbes, *Rasa-Mala*, London, 1878, p. 418; L. Gopal, *ELNI*, p. 159.
3. *Vaijayanti* of Yādavaprakāśa, ed. G. Oppert, Madras, 1893, pp. 42, 21.
4. L. Gopal, *ELNI*, p. 156.
5. *Samarāichchakahā* of Haribhadra Sūri, Bombay, 1938, Chap. VI, pp. 38-39.
6. *Tilakamañjarīkathā* of Dhanapāla, N. S. P., Bombay, 1903, p. 153.

As regards the gold-objects, a few objects of the pre-historic and historic periods have come to light in the course of excavations. These include mainly gold diadems belonging to pre-historic age in Tinnevelly[1], gold objects from Charsadda[2] as well as beautiful Buddhist jewellery from Hidda and Dih Bimaran (Afghanistan), Piprahwa in Nepal and Bhattiprolu in Madras.[3] Oher objects include three pieces of ear-rings of solid gold of first-rate workmanship whose shape is similar to that of a pair of bracelet worn by one of the figures of the Ajantā Cave paintings, each having a gold coin attached to it belonging to the Kushāṇa king Huvishka[4] and gold caskets with incrustation of gems. But, no gold objects from Harappā, Sirkap (Taxila), Rupar, Brahmagiri and other important archaeological sites have come to light. The epigraphic records of the early and early-medieval period, however, abound in reference to gold coins and gold objects.

Thus, considering the gold for which India has at all times been famous, and the inordinate fondness shown by the people of the country for personal ornaments, it is surprising that only a few objects of gold or silver jewellery have come down to us from ancient times. Amid the rich collection of Indian antiquities to be found in India, jewellery and gold objects are "represented by a few and for the most part scarcely noticeable objects, the significance of which is most apparent when they are compared with the splendid displays of ancient gold and silver work which Western countries have produced."[5] This comparative scarcity is observable almost as much in the collections of Buddhist as in those of Hindu antiquities, and in both the cases the cause is the same. "Whereas in western countries thanks to the prevailing custom of burying the personal ornaments of the dead along with their remains the museums are stocked with the spoils of ancient countries, in India, so far as the Buddhists or Hindus are concerned, there are no such happy hunting grounds for the excavator."[6]

Unlike silver, gold is frequently referred to in early classical literature—The *Vedas*, the *Brāhmanas*, the *Upnishadas*, the *Jātakas*, the epics, the *Smṛitis*, the

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1. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1902-03, p. 120.
2. Ibid., p. 172.
3. Ibid., p. 185.
4. Ibid., pp. 186-87.
5. Ibid., p. 185.
6. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1902-03, p. 185.

Nītiśāstras, the *Purāṇas* as well as the epigraphic records—by various names, such as *nishka*, *hiraṇya*, *suvarṇa*, *pāda*, *śatamāna*, *purāṇa*, etc. sometimes as metallic medium of exchange of standard weight and sometimes as gold currency.[1] The *Arthaśāstra* also refers to the regular use of gold, describing the methods employed by the goldsmith for the adulteration of gold by substituting baser metals, and prescribes extreme penalty for such adulterators.[2] Other Indian literary sources also refer to a regular use of gold. In the *Milindapañho*[3] and works on medicine (*Charaka* and *Suśruta Saṁhitās*) and alchemy gold is mentioned along with other metals. The *Suvarṇa-varṇāvadāna*[4], a Buddhist text of the 4th-5th century A. D. refers to gold as *suvarna kañchana*, *amara*, *chamikāra* and *kanaka*.

It would be interesting to note that even during the age of Kālidāsa gold-mines were exhaustively worked to which we get frequent allusions in the works of the poet. The mines yielded precious metals (*maṇi*) such as *Vajra* (diamond), *padmarāga* (ruby), *pushparāja* (topaz), *mahānīla* or *Indranīla* (sappline), *marakata* (emerald) etc.[5] Besides silver and copper, gold was also obtained in large number from the mines. Kālidāsa gives different names for gold—*suvarṇa*, *hema*, *hiraṇya*, *kanaka*, *kanchana* and *draviṇa*.[6] Gold was also extracted from the sand of some rivers (*Kanakasikatā*)[7] from which were made most of the ornaments. We have also reference to burnished gold (*taptachamikāra*)[8] which was hammered out into the shape of several beautiful jewels. During this period metals were worked and articles of the finest designs were finished by master goldsmiths.[9] Gold was tested in fire[10] before being worked out into ornaments to ascertain its purity. References to ornaments of gold and precious stones of various designs in the works of the poet are a conclusive proof of the fact that much fine work of jewellery was successfully executed.[1] As regards the gold coins of the Guptas, they are the finest specimens of Indian numismatic art.

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[1] For details see, U. Thakur, *MMI*, pp. 21-48.

[2] *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*, ed. Shamasastry, Mysore, 1919, II, 13.45, 46; U. Thakur, *MMI*, pp. 21ff.

[3] *Milindapañho*, ed. V. Trenckner, London, 1928, p. 331.

[4] Sitaram Roy, *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna*, Patna, 1971, pp. 162, 169-70.

[5] Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa*, ed. H. D. Velankar, Bombay, 1948, III. 18; XIII, 53.59; XVIII. 42; XIX. 45; *Kumārasambhavc of Kālidāsa*, ed. V. L. Sastri Pansikar, Bombay, 1916, VIII, 75: I. 24; VII. 10; XVI. 69.

[6] *Kumārsambhava*, VII. 50; *Raghuvaṁśa*, I. 10,30; II. 36; V. 2. 29; IV. 70; III. 79.

[7] *Kumārasambhava*, I. 44; VI, 5; *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIV. 33.

[8] For other details see, B. S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa*, Delhi, 1968, IInd Edn., p. 259.

[9] Ibid., p. 267.

[10] *Raghuvaṃśa*, 1.10.

That the gold mines had not completely dried up after the seventh century and that some of them were still worked is evident from some of the land-grants of the early medieval period which, while describing the village-boundaries, also mention the mines.[2] In the Kadambapadraka grant of Naravarman, dated V. S. 1167 (1110 A. D.) we read of King Naravarman granting land with the right of mining gold.[3] The Ākarādhikārapurushas were the officers-in-charge of mines.[4] Besides, references to various ornaments of gold, images of Hindu deities made of gold,[5] the golden lion-throne[6] and the beds-steads inlaid with gold[7], and gold cups and dishes of the kings and nobles leave no doubt that the country was rich in gold[8] even during the 400 years after the Guptas when no gold coins were issued by the Indian kings.

V

The above discussion would show that India was rich in gold since the Ṛigvedic times and that there was a sizeable number of gold-mines both in northern and southern India, north-western provinces, Kashmir and other places. As the native supply of gold was by no means small, the so-called paucity of gold resulting in complete absence of gold coins for over 450 years in north India can not be explained by the fact that it was due to the stoppage of supply of gold from Rome through trade.[9] It was more due to the non-utilisation of or inaccess to native sources owing to the disturbed political condition after the Guptas rather than the non-availability of gold itself. The revival of gold coins in the eleventh and twelfth centuries need not necessarily be connected with the developments outside India. As we have shown above, it is basically wrong to suggest that gold-mining does not appear to have flourished in India after the Gupta period.[1]

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[1] B. S. Upadhyay, op. cit., p. 267.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, XI, 1935, p. 22; IV, 1928, pp. 157ff.

[3] Ibid., XX, 1944, pp. 106-07.

[4] R S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, Delhi, 1959, p. 343.

[5] *Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa* (Ed. M. A. Stein, Bombay, 1892), VII. 1083; Elliot-Dowson, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 97-99.

[6] *Mānasollāsa*, Baroda, 1925, III. 1046-47.

[7] Ibid., III, 1185-86, 1691.

[8] For details see B. N. Sharma. *Social and Cultural History of Northern India* (c. 1000-1200 A. D.) New Delhi, 1972, pp. 139, 149, 152-59; U. Thakur, *MMI*, pp. 160-63.

[9] *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* XXXI, 1969, p. 6.

As regards the paucity of gold coins after the Guptas, it may be suggested that during this period the gold coins of the Kushāṇas and the Guptas continued to be used, and in course of time many of these coins were melted down, though some of the kings from eleventh century A. D. onward following the example of Gāṅgeyadeva felt the need for issuing gold coins on the resumption of brisk trade with foreign merchants.[2] By this time most of the gold coins came to be surreptitiously hoarded by the merchants and bankers who gradually transformed them into ornaments. The big bankers amassed fabulous wealth in the form of gold and silver as is evident from contemporary records, literary and epigraphic.[3] Lawsly had also noticed such practices in Ceylon where, while trying to collect ancient coins, he was reported by the goldsmiths that people came to them for converting their gold and silver coins into ornaments.[4] Similar practices were indulged in during the Pāla and Sena periods when ornaments were very popular among the people. Several hoards of ancient coins are reported to have been melted down before they could be seized by the government officials.

It would not be wrong to susgest that gold coins were used in larger transactions like inter-state trade. But, in inter-state and foreign trade relations gold coins were used according to their weight and purity of metal.[5] From the mathematical texts of the early medieval period we learn how merchants by combining gold pieces of different purity and exchanging them for other pieces obtained profit. This being the case, the kings in the post-Gupta period did not mint fresh gold coins but left it to the big merchants and trading concerns to issue their own gold coins, although theoretically a king reserved the right to examine gold coins struck by the bankers before they were allowed to circulate.

As we know, in the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods gold coins were issued in large numbers to meet the requirements of the brisk trade which existed

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1. U. Thakur, *MMI* p. 6.
2. L. Gopal, *ELNI* pp. 217-18.
3. Cf. Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena.
4. *Numismatic Chronicle*, XV, 1895, London, pp. 217ff.
5. L. Gopal, *ELNI*, p. 238.

between India, Central and Western Asia, Egypt and Rome. With the comparative decline in the volume of foreign trade in the post-Gupta or early medieval period, the gold coins also became scarce.[1]

Another cause for the paucity of gold coins may be found in the non-acceptance of the Indian coins, atleast in Lacca and Maldive islands. It is said that though the islands had foreign money in gold and silver, they preferred bullion. Moreover, foreign coins were not accepted on their face value: on the other hand, they were cut into pieces, their metallic content determined and then their prices fixed, which points to the debasement of Indian coins in later times. Bengal, being the largest customer of cowries thought it useless to coin money to serve as standard in foreign trade, as the Indian gold coins proved inferior in quality and content. For instance, one Tahariya dramma could easily be exchanged for one and half Indian gold coins.

Thus, the decline in the volume of trade with the Roman empire, Central and West Asian countries and Egypt; shifting of trade-centres of the East Indies to the South; heavy expenditure incurred by later rulers, such as the Senas, the Pālas etc., over maintenance of the army; rise of a number of independent principalities resulting in insecurity of internal land-routes; constant warfare among the local rulers as well as the invasions of the Hūṇas[2] leading to the closure of the great international port of Tamralipti and other ports in eastern and western India; effusion of *cowries* as a result of new trade contact with Lacca and Maldive islands; dependence on agricultural goods through barter and, above all, the uselessness of Indian coins in foreign markets were responsible for the great paucity of gold coinage in north-eastern India after the exit of the Imperial Guptas from the political scene.

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1. Ibid., p. 219.
2. For details see, U. Thakur, *The Hūṇas*, pp. 132ff.

THE PLACE OF KĀCHA IN GUPTA CHRONOLOGY

VIJAY KUMAR THAKUR

In the reconstruction of the history of ancient India the greatest problem that one has to face is the relative absence of source material. This becomes all the more pertinent in case of the history of the Guptas and, as a result, there are many a problems of the Gupta history which have not yet been solved satisfactorily. It is in this perspective that one can clearly understand the Kācha problem.

The only evidence of the existence of a King Kācha is provided by the coins and in the initial stages of historical research they were too scanty to be carefully noticed. Till the discovery of the Bayana hoard we had only his unique Chakradhvaja type of coins and that too of a single variety. The Bayana hoard, however, yielded, a solitary coin of a second variety bearing a Garuḍadhvaja on the obverse in front of the King.[1] That the issuer of these coins, which are neither copious nor rare,[2] is to be assigned to the early Gupta period, can hardly be doubted.

The minted issues of Kācha are found only in the hoards of the Gupta coins and are most often associated with those of Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. In their general appearance, fabric, legend etc., these coins are closely similar to the coins of Samudragupta. The metrology of these coins closely follows the 115 and 118 grain standards which indicates that the issuer cannot have been later than Chandragupta II when the weight of the gold coins went upto 124 grains.[3] The earlier period of the issuer is also indicated by the composition of the two hoards containing the coins of Kācha; the Tanda hoard consisted of the coins of Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Kācha while the Ballia hoard contained the coins of only Samudragupta and Kācha. On the basis of these facts Allan,[4] Fleet,[5] Smith[6] and

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[1] Altekar, A. S., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire* (Varanasi), p. 87.

[2] Ibid, p. 78.

[3] Also cf. Goyal, S. R., *A History of the Imperial Guptas* (Allahabad, 1967) p 191.

[4] Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśaṅka King of Gauḍa*, (London, 1914), Introduction, p. XXXII.

[5] Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 27.

[6] Smith, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1889, pp. 75-76. He frequently changed his views on this topic. In 1893, agreeing with Rapson

Raychaudhuri,[1] etc. suggested that Kācha was perhaps the less formal[2] or original name[3] cf Samudragupta. But, this hypothesis hardly seems to be convincing. These facts instead of proving the similarity between the two indicate their contemporaneity or near-contemporaneity, which is also supported by numismatic evidence. Altekar has pointed out that on the Gupta coins the personal name of the King is written below the arm[4]: on the coins under discussion we find the name 'Kācha' at that place. Hence, it would be more proper to regard him as different from the King whose coins bear the name 'Samudra' below the arm of the King [5]

R. K. Mookerjee argued that Kācha is but another name of Samudra Gupta which the fomer assumed after his extensive conquests.[6] But this suggestion also falls in the category of suggestions discussed above and hence its improbability. Even if we accept that Kācha assumed a name befitting his extensive conquests resulting in a change of name on the coins, there are certain other difficulties. Chandagupta II had another name called Devarāja or Devagupta but this other name is mentioned in one of the Sanchi inscriptions and also a Vākāṭaka inscription describing Prabhavatīguptā as the daughter of Devagupta and Kuberanāgā.[7] The alleged other name of Samudragupta-Kāchagupta-is not mentioned in any incription but occurs only on his coins. Secondly the coins of Kācha are few in number and there are also some significant typological changes in the sequence : Chandragupta I-Kācha-Samudragupta.[8] Chandragupta I is shown, on his coins (if the issue is one of coins and not commemorative medallions)[9], wearing tight fitting coat and trousers, head-dress, ear-rings and armlets holding in his left hand a crescent-

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(Ibid, 1893, p. 81), he took Kācha to be different from Samudragupta, (Ibid, 1893, p. 25). But, nine years later he reverted to his old view (*Indian Antiquary*, 1902, p. 259).

1. *Political History of Ancient Iudia* (Calcutta, 1972), p. 470: also see Chittaranjan Ray Chaudhury, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXXV, 1902, p. 259; Mirashi, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XX, p. 90.
2. Fleet, Op. cit., p. 27.
3. Allan, Op. cit., Introduction, p. XXXII.
4. Altekar, Op. cit., p. 81.
5. Goyal, Op. cit, p. 192,
6. Mookerji, R. K., *The Gupta Empire* (Bombay, 1947), p. 17.
7. Fleet, Op. cit., p. 29; Mookerji, R. K., Op. cit, p. 46.
8. Gokhale, B. G., *Samudragupta* (1962), p. 37.
9. For the latter view see Mookerji, R. K, Op. cit. p. 33.

topped standard bound with fillet etc. On the reverse is the figure of Lakshmī. The coins of Kācha show him standing in the same manner holding a standard surmounted by a wheel (*chakra*) in left hand, other manifestations being similar. The standard types of Samudragupta's coins are similar to the two above with a difference, and a significant difference at that, that instead of wheel (*chakra*) they show the Garuḍa, the mythical bird-vehicle of Vishṇu.[1] From this comparison it is evident that the coins of Chandragupta I and Kācha are similar in design and decoration while the coins of Samdragupta show a significant change, the '*Chakra*' being substituted by '*garuda*'.[2]

Raychaudhuri finds it unthinkable that the title *sarvarājochheta* (uprooter of all kings) could have been assumed by a Gupta monarch other than, the one who is actually credited with that achievement in his Allahabad praśasti.[3] But in the Poona and the Rithpur Cp. P. of Prabhāvatiguptā the authors did not feel any hesitation in ascribing this epithet to Chandragupta II.[4] Even if we accept Raychaudhuri's view that they were not very strict in their description of Gupta geneology[5], it would seem highly intriguing that in both these documents, though they are seperated by at least 20 years, the same mistake occurs. Here it may also be pointed out that Samudragupta did not assume the title of *sarvarājochchheta* himself; it is found used for him in the records of his successors.[6]

According to the late D. R. Bhandarkar, Kāchagupta coins should be read as Ramagupta coins. On this basis he regarded Kācha to be the elder brother of Chandragupta II.[7] D. Sharma subscribed to this view.[8] Altekar, too, in his later years, became a great champion of this view and tried to prove it

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1. Allan, Op. cit., pp. 1-15.
2. This difference in symbols led Altekar (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XI, p. 25, and XII, p. 37) and P. L. Gupta (Ibid, XII, pp. 36-37) to reconstruct the earlier Gupta Chronology in two entirely contradictory ways. Altekar contended that Kacha succeeded Samudragupta while P. L. Gupta regarded Kācha to be senior. The discovery of some copper coins of Ramagupta makes the hypothesis of Altekar, however, untenable.
3. Raychaudhuri, Op. cit., pp. 470-71, fn. 4.
4. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 412, 16.
5. Raychaudhuri, Op. cit., pp. 470-71, fn. 4.
6. Cf. Goyal, Op. cit, p. 192.
7. 'New Light on Early Gupta History', *Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, p. 205.
8. 'The Location of Kartṛpura', *Journal of Indian History*, XIV, pp. 30-32.

on the basis of numismatic evidence.[1] But, the discovery of the coins belonging to one Ramagupta[2] makes this theory highly untenable.[3]

Thus, numismatically speaking, Kacha is neither indentical with Samudragupta nor can he be regarded as one of his successors; he was either a predecessor of Samudragupta or his rival. But the fact that Gupta records do not mention his name indicates that he was not a legal predecessor of Samudragupta. At one time Prinsep and Thomas were of the opinion that Kācha is identical with Ghaṭotkachagupta.[4] But there is hardly any possibility of the name Ghaṭotkacha being written as Kācha and hence this suggestion is not to be taken seriously.[5] R. D. Banerjee thought, however, that Kācha appears to be a son of Chandragupta I who had lost his life during the lifetime of his father, very probably in the war of independence,[6] i. e. against the Kushanas, and the coins under discussion were issued by Samudragupta to commemorate the memory of his brother. But, the assumption that the Kushanas were ruling over Magadha in 4th century A. D. and that Samudragupta ascribed his own achievement, viz. the extermination of the hostile kings to his brother is quite unconvincing. Moreover, if this commemoration theory is accepted it will make a farce of coinage and render it untrustworthy as a historical document.

From the foregoing account it would be clear that Kācha was a predecessor of Samadrugupta who fought against him for the Gupta crown. Heras argued that a "rebellion of Samudrugupta's brothers against him in the beginning of his reign is hinted at in the Allahabad Inscription."[7] The 4th verse of this record says that "Samudragupta" was bidden by (his) father—who exclaiming "verily (thou art) deserving, embraced (him) with the hairs of

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[1] Altekar, Op. cit., pp. 78 ff; see also *JNSI*, IX, pp. 131-36; XII, Pt. I, pp. 36-40.

[2] Altekar, Op. cit., p. 162.

[3] Goyal on the one hand, refutes the arguments of Raychaudhuri about the improbability of Kācha assuming the title of *Sarvarājochhhetā* (Goyal, Op. cit., p. 192) while, on the other hand, he refutes the theory regarding the similarity of Kācha and Ramagupta by assuming the improbability of the assumption of the title of '*Sarvarājochhhetuḥ*' by the latter (Ibid, p. 193). This is highly contradictory.

[4] Goyal, Op. cit., p. 193.

[5] Fleet, Op. cit., p. 27, fn. 4.

[6] *The Imperial Guptas*, p. 10.

[7] 'Two controversial events in the reign of Samudragupta, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, IX, pp. 30-32.

(his) body standing erect (through pleasure) (and thus) indicative of (his) sentiments and scanned (him) with an eye turning round and round in affection (and) laden with tears (of joy) (and) perceptive of (his noble) nature—(to govern of a surety) the whole world."[1] This statement also implies that Chandragupta I probably renounced his throne in favour of Samudragupta.[2] But Harishena instead of stopping here further adds that at this declaration Samudragupta was being looked at "(with envy) by the faces melancholy (through the rejection of themselves), of others of equal birth, while the attendants of the court breathed forth deep sighs (of happiness)."[3] This statement clearly implies that there were other princes who were looking forward to their own accession. Naturally enough, this declaration might have led them to unite under a single banner and to rebel against Samudragupta. The leader of this revolt was Kācha.

Sitholey holds, however, that Kācha was an usurper, not a brother of Samudragupta, for he is not mentioned in the Gupta geneologies and official records.[4] But then Ramagupta too is not mentioned in the Gupta geneologies and official records. It seems more probable, that these records eliminated those who either tried to capture the throne forcibly or were ignominous for the dynasty. The Allahabad praśasti, also indirectly refers to a war of Samudragupta in the fragmentary verses 5 and 6,[5] which alludes to the fact that it was fought against close relatives. Such phrases as 'repentance with minds filled with contentment' and 'much clearly displayed pleasure and affection'[6] used to describe this war could not have been employed against ordinary enemies.[7] Therefore, in all probability, this Praśasti refers to the war fought by Samudragupta against the rebellious group led by Kacha. If we corroborate this with the evidence of the *Āryamanjuśrī mūlakalpa*, the picture becomes more clear. The author of this work, in most cases, gives the synonyms of the personal name of the kings who were not very favourable to Buddhism. In the present case it explicity refers to Bhasma, a brother of Samudragupta, who is said to have ruled for three years.[1] Now, we know that Kācha was not very favourable to Buddhism[2] and the word Kācha also means 'alkaline ashes' or *Bhasma*. Thus, it would not be far fetched to regard that the coins ascribed to Kācha are the coins of a Gupta prince who revolted against Samudragupta on the eve of the latter's accession to the throne.

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[1] The translation of Fleet (Op. cit., pp. 1 ff.), slightly modified.

[2] Majumdar & Altekar (Ed.), *A New History of the Indtan People*, VI (1946), p. 137. In the Rithpur C. P. of Prabhāvatiguptā, the phrase *tatpādāpanugrihita* has been used for Samudragupta (Sircar, Op. cit., p. 416).

[3] Fleet, Op. cit., p. 11.

[4] 'Was Kacha a Gupta Monarch, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XII, pt. I, p. 39.

[5] Fleet, Op. cit., p. 12.

[6] Ibid., p. 12.

[7] Goyal, Op. cit., p. 194.

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1. Jayswal, *An Imperial History of India* : Sanskrit text (1934), p. 48. Bhattacharya, however, tried to solve the Kācha riddle on the basis of the *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* of the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa* (*Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XXX, pp. 1 ff.) but this text according to the majority of Scholars is not reliable.
2. For a through analysis see Goyal, Op. cit, pp. 122ff.

REFLECTIONS ON THE VĪṆĀ IN GUPTA COINAGE

MUKUND LATH

(**Pl. VIII**)

Samudragupta's *Praśasti* calls him a great musician.[1] He is described as surpassing Nārada and Tumbaru in musical skill.[2] The Vīṇā type coins minted by Samudragupta show him as playing the Vīṇā (**Pl. VIII. 8**). They are proof that the *praśasti*—allowing for the usual poetic exaggeration—was not voicing an empty praise. The coins also reveal that Samudragupta took great pride in his musicianship, for no king before him had minted coins of this kind. He was followed in this respect by his grandson Kumāragupta I as is evidencd by similar type of coins brought to light by the Bayana hoard (**Pl. VIII. 9**). There are, however, strong grounds which suggest that Kumāragupta I, too, was in all likelihood, a musician. Presumably, Kumāragupta I, too, was a vīṇā-playing musician, though no *praśasti* extolling Kumāragupta's musical skill has yet been found. It might be argued that Kumāragupta I was merely emulating his illustrious grandfather in minting a coin-type initiated by him, without having any active personal interest in vīṇā-playing.

There is however one obvious lacuna in our suggestion : there is no evidence that Chandragupta II was also a musician. Though Chandragupta II issued more coin-types than his father Samudragupta, no coin of his showing him as playing the vīṇā has yet come to light. This is, however, a negative evidence and this does not necessarily mean that no such coins were ever minted. Prior to the finding of the Bayana Hoard, vīṇā type coins of Kumāragupta I were also unknown. Again, the ratio of available vīṇā type coins being noticeably small in comparison with the total body of discovered coinage, it is reasonable to hold that the actual number of such issues were also numerically little. Coins of the vīṇā type show Samudragupta at leisure and were perhaps issued as a graceful gesture accompanying the achievement of empire, prosperity and well-being. Significantly, the ratio of coins showing Chandragupta II as indulging in a relatively ostentatious living is also very small. Of some types only three or four specimens are known. And one coin type, the so-called King-and-Queen-on-Couch type where the king is shown drinking wine - a coin which has formed the basis of much speculation regarding the character and personal traits of Chandragupta II-is known through only a single specimen.[1] This being so the fact that no viṇā type coin of Chandragupta II is known, can be reasonably said to be due to the vagaries of discovery.[2] Secondly, it has been suggested by Altekar that the letters sometime construed as *rūpākṛiti* on one of the couch type coins of Chandragupta II actually form the word *rūpakṛitī*, meaning 'one who is skilled in dramatic composition' or 'one who has gained his end in dramatic composition.'[3] Thus Chandragupta II was perhaps a play-wright. And if so, he also took an active interest in music; for drama as Kālidāsa says is a performance-

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[1] Proficiency in music was regarded as one of the qualities which ancient Indian kings desired to acquire. Indeed, many an epigraphical and literary records allude to kings who exhibited their skill in music. The Epic heroes, Krishna and Arjuna, were renowned for their skill in music. The Kaliṅga king Khāravela (1st century B. C.) and the Saka Mahakshatrapa, Rudradāman (2nd century A. D.) are known from their epigraphical records as having been proficient in music.

[2] *niśitavidagdhamatigāndharvalalitairvrīḍitatridaśapatigurutumbarunāradādeḥ*, Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 8.

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1. [The object with a curved handle and a thick knob at the top may be a *sindūradānī* as well *KKDG*]

2. However, a gold coin has been found which, as described in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, 1916-17 may be an example of a vīṇā-type coin issued by Cnandragupta II. But the identification remains uncertain as no photograph of the coin has been published. The legend on it, as well as its reported description-which itself leaves rooms for doubt cannot be verified. It's description is as follows :

   Obverse: King seated on a high-backed couch, with one foot hanging; wearing waist cloth; hand to left touching lyre or feeding some animal; legend—*paramabhāgavata mahā*......

   Reverse: Figure of Lakshmī seated on a footstool with a seat over it; holds uncertain object in hand; to left crescent; legend—*vikramāditya(ḥ)*.

   As evinced from this description the coin certainly bears resemblances with the viṇā type, especially, with those issued by Kumaragupta I, where the figure of Lakshmī(?) is shown as seated on a footstool.

   See also in this connection fn. 2, p. 35, 'A Lyrist Type Copper Coin' by Bratindranath Mukherjee in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, No. I, 1959. [The socalled Lyrist copper coin published by Mukherjee is actually a Hūṇā Coin, cf. *JNSI*, XXVI, Pt. I, pp. 106-109 *JPS*].

3. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 34. [For different interpretations of the expression see *Indian Numismatic Chronicle* (Patna) IV, pt. 1, pp. 73f; *Journal of the Numismatic Society of Iudia* (henceforth *JNSI)*, XXXV, pp. 159f. *KKDG*]

oriented art[1] and music in ancient times was an inherent part of drama.[2] Besides, the image of Chandragupa II as suggested by some of his coins is that of a person with epicurean tastes. This coupled with his interest in literature-of which he is also believed to have been a great-patron-recalls the portrait of a well-cultivated, sophisticated *nāgaraka* as painted by Vātsyāyana in his *Kāma-sūtra*. The vīṇā always adorned the room of such *nāgarakas*.[3]

There is thus a distinct possibility that Chandragupta II, too like his illustrious predecessor issued a vīṇā type coin and it would be premature to conclude that no such coin was ever minted on account of the non-discovery of such coins. After Kumāragupta I, Skandagupta was busy in saving an endangered empire in jeopardy. Most probably he was also taught music as a family tradition or *saṁsakāra.* but he could not or did not keep up the flourishes of his predecessors in minting coins about this or other leisurely occupations. Only three coin types of his have come to light.[4]

II

The kings on Gupta coinage are shown as playing a harp vīṇā.[5] Vīṇās of this type are quite common in early sculptures at Bharhut, Besnagar and Amaravati[6] and at the Buddhist caves of Pitalkhora,[7] besides other sites. This vīṇā was shaped like a bow that faced down with a tilt or an angle with one open end protruding upward and the other, lower end, forming a hollow belly which served as the sounding board of the instrument. The vīṇā strings were stretched across the structure like bow-strings. In playing, the sounding belly was usually placed on the laps. Strings were so arrayed in the playing position that the lower a string, the shorter its length. The still surviving south Indian instrument *yazh* resembles this old vīṇā; most similar in structure to the ancient one, however, is the Burmese harp which seems to have been handed down in an almost unchanged form since ancient times.[1]

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[1] Parivrajikā : *deva prayogapradhānaṃ hi nāṭyaśāstram. kimatra vāgvyavahareṇa*", *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Act. I.

[2] *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Gaekwad edition) Vol. IV, 28, 7 and *ṭikā ;* also 32, 425 and 436.

[3] *Kāmasūtra*, 1, 4, 4. The *sūtra* describing the room of a *nāgaraka* contains the item: '*nāgadantāvasaktā vīṇā*'. See also *sūtra* 1, 3, 15 where *vīṇā* playing is included among the fine arts to be learnt by the cultivated person.

[4] [So far five gold coin types of the king are known. These are Archer, King and Queen, Chhatra, Horseman and the Garuḍa types? cf. Jai Prakash Singh, *History and Coinage of Skandagupta Kramaditya*, (B. H. U., 1976), pp. 75ff. *JPS.*]

[5] "The lute of Samudragupta's coins has a long hollow belly covered with a board of seven strings." Altekar, *The Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayaua Hoard*, Introduction, p. lxviii. The instrument is actually of the harp type, one of the most ancient musical instruments, common to all old cultures. The strings are tied across a triangular frame; each string producing a single musical note. The use of the word 'lute' by Altekar here is unhappy.

[6] *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 74.

[7] '*Saptatantri Vīṇā* in the sculptures of Buddhist caves of Pitalkhora' : Swami Prajñānānanda in *Roopa-Lekha*, XXXII, No. I, July 1961.

In the vīṇā type coins, the king is shown sitting on a couch with both legs resting on a foot-board and holding the vīṇā on his laps. He is portrayed in profile. The right hand is stretched slightly away from the torso, and is shown striking the strings while the left hand lies stretched across the lap, above the hollow belly of the vīṇā. The left hand lies at ease and the palm forms a *mudrā*-like gesture to which we will have occasion to return. The thumb and fore-fingers are, in some coins, projecting slightly outwards while on others they are bent towards each other in more than a semi-circle. The open palm faces upward with a slight tilt towards the torso. The remaining three fingers are bent palm-wards.[2]

Scholars have referred to the Gupta kings as vīṇā-players only. But some important considerations have led us to think that the kings are shown as singing and that vīṇā-playing is, in the coin-portrayal, an auxiliary activity. This might appear a little startling, for the vīṇā is evident in the picture while singing is not; the kings are shown as actually playing it, while there are no signs to indicate that they were singing. Below are placed argumants in favour of our suggestion.

Let us, to begin with, consider some common portrayals of modern Indian classical singers. Numerous sketches, paintings or photographs of singers show them sitting with a big tānpurā; their right hand on the strings of the instrument and the left lying idle on the hollowed-out gourd which acts as the sounding belly. In such portraits, the tānpurā looms larger, appearing sometimes even to overshadow the singer in size and prominence. Yet, we know that the musician portrayed is a singer, not an instrumental player and that the purpose of the instrument is to act as an accompaniment to the vocal melody. The vīṇā of Samudragupta and Kumaragupta I may therefore be viewed as a singer's accompaniment.

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[1] For an illustration and description of the Burmese harp see *Die Musikinstrumente Indiens Und Indonesiens*, *Curt Sachs*, pp. 140-141.

[2] The kings' posture is almost identical on all vīṇā-type coins, though the impression is not always clear. For a fairly clear impression see the reproduction given by Altekar in *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, plate III, no. 16. In this coin thumb and fore-finger are projecting slightly outward. In a coin of Kumāragupta I, thumb and forefinger are clearly seen to be inclined toward each other so as to make a circle-like form; see Altekar, *The Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, plate XXXI, No. 5.

Musical instruments of the string group, especially of the harp type, were commonly used in ancient times to accompany song, which was the dominant musical form.[1] It was common in ancient India for singers to accompany themselves on the vīṇā. Of numerous literary references mention may be made of the *ghoshavatī*, the legendary vīṇā of Udayana, the king of Kauśāmbi and the hero of Bhāsa's *Svapna-Vāsavadattam*; what is less known is that legends also speak of Udayana's singing[2] and there are reasons to believe on their basis that learning the vīṇā implied learning to sing. In fact, the practice among singers to accompany themselves on the vīṇā, goes back to a still remote antiquity. The Sūtra works speak of vīṇāgāthins—a class of Brāhmaṇa or Kshatriya singers[3]—who, as the name, suggests, accompanied themselves on the vīṇā. These singers were employed to sing gāthās during sacrificial ceremonies. A few other literary references to the vocal music with the string accompaniment include the instances of the singing of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Lava and Kuśa in the court of Rama[1] and the musical presentation of some gāthās to Buddha by Pañchaśikha.[2]

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[1] A famous remark of Śārṅgadeva runs : *nṛittaṃ vādyānugaṃ proktaṃ vādyaṃ gītānuvarticha* (*Samgita Ratnākara*) I. 24.

Vocal music has traditionally been the major form in India. Ancient musical genres or types were distinguished on the basis of song. *Sāma*, a basically sung form gave rise to the *jāti*, predominantly a vocal genre. In fact gāndharva the ancient word for music—has been defined in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Dattitlam* as containing three elements : *Svara* (tones), *tāla* (rhythm), and *pada* (words). Clearly the ancients in thinking of music thought primarily of songs. In Greece lyric singers used to accompany their songs on the lyre—the songs were, for this reason called lyrics.

[2] In another play on the Udayana-Vāsavadattā theme entitled *Vīnāvāsavadattam* (ed. by K. N. Sarma, Kuppuswami Research Institute edition) it is stated that this vīṇā *ghoshvatī*, whenever used, was used as accompaniment to song. The first instance of its use is found in the episode where Udayana sets out to catch a wild elephant. The dramatist portrays Udayana as approaching the raging beast with his vīṇā—which had powers to cast a spell on the wildest of animals (Act II). When he comes near the beast, he sings a spell, accompanying himself on the ghoṣhavatī. Later in the play—in act VIII—Upayana goes to Vāsavadattā's appartments to give her lessons on the vīṇā as well as in vocal music.

[3] The *Hiraṇya Śrauta Sūtra* speaks of *brāhmaṇau vīṇāgāthinau gāyataḥ* (14. 2. 6) and again *rājanyau vīṇāgāthinau gāyataḥ* (14, 2, 17-18). Also *Āpastamba Gṛihya Sūtra* : *gāyatāmiti vīṇāgāthinau samsesti*' (14, 6, 4).

Without quoting numerous such literary instances, with which many of us are familiar, it will suffice to say that there had always been a close association between song and vīṇā in ancient times. We do not mean to suggest, however, that the vīṇā was always and invariably associated with song. What we intend to say is that such an association was common. In the context of the Gupta kings this is strongly indicated by another circumstance. As said before the viṇā type coins appear to depict an instrument with seven strings. (*saptatantrī-vīṇā*).[3] The seven-stringed harp was, indeed, a popular ancient instrument, as indicated by literary allusions[4] and sculptural representations.[5] Another point suggests the *saptatantrī*. Harp-vīṇā in ancient times was played both with a plectrum (*koṇa*) and the fingers. The Gupta kings on their vīṇā-coins are shown as playing the instrument with their fingers, for the gesture of

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Sohoni in his paper entitled 'Vīṇā coin-type of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I' (*JNSI*, XIX, pp. 155f.) puts forward the suggestion that Samudragupta issued the vīṇā type coins after performing the aśvamedha sacrifice-which, too was celebrated through the issue of appropriate coins-and that he might have played the vīṇā in this sacrifice as the ritual demands. Perhaps he did, and perhaps he acted as a *viṇāgāthin*, in which case he would also have rendered songs.

[1] *Rāmāyaṇa* (Gita Press edition), VII. 94, 2-7.

[2] *Dīgha Nikaya*, Mahāvagga, sakkapañhasuttam. pp. 199-200, (Pt. II of the Pali Publication Board edition brought out by the Bihar Government).

[3] Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 74. Sohoni in his paper entitled 'Vīṇā Coin-type of Samudragupta and Kumara Gupta I' remarks that the vīṇā had four or seven strings; see *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XIX, p. 154. The seven-stringed instrument was, from literary and sculptural evidence, a very common instrument. The four-stringed vīṇā was not. Vīṇās with only four strings on the coin are perhaps the result of poor workmanship or poor preservation.

[4] One entire *Jātaka* story centres round the *saptatantrī* (*Guttila Jātakā*, No. 243). The *Vimānavatthu* (XXXII. 2. 5. 1) speaks of the sweet-sounding *saptatantrī* (*sattatantiṃ sumadhuraṃ*). Śyāmilaka in his *bhāṇa Pādatāḍitakam*, describing a haetara singing speaks of her as playing the *saptatantrī* (Cf. Moti Chandra's edition, p. 177.)

[5] See *Journal af American Oriental Society*, 1930, p. 244. And also Swami Prajñānānanda, in *A Historical Study of Indian Music*, Ch. 6, and accompanying illustrations.

the right palm does not appear to indicate that the king was holding a plectrum. This, along with other circumstances, also points to a seven-stringed instrument; for Bharata in distinguishing between different vīṇās and their number of strings, remarks that chitrā, the vīṇā with seven strings, was played with the fingers [1] Śyāmilaka's haetara, who plays a *saptatantrī*, does so with her nails (*nakhairghaṭṭayantī*).

If it be true that the Gupta kings are shown as playing a seven stringed harp, then certain meaningful implications appear to follow. A seven-stringed harp can logically be tuned to only seven notes. It can produce only one octave with the seven regular notes of the ancient scale, unless one or more note be dropped; in which case, too, the range will not significantly increase. Dropping of too many notes in order to achieve a greater range of pitch would produce so much tonal gap between notes as to make the resulting melody musically poor or threadbare. In truth, only a single octave can be effectively achieved with seven strings on a harp. But effective music cannot be made if one only has the range of a single octave at one's command. Ancient music recognised a range of three octaves, known as the *mandra*, *madhya* and *tāra*. This was the range theoretically envisaged on the basis of the fact that the gifted voice when rightly trained can attain a range of three octaves.[2] Of the harp vīṇās, the *mattakokilā*, which had twenty-one strings was the most appropriate vīṇā for giving a instrumental rendering of melodies in their optimum form.[1] It could do justice to the most ambitiously wide-ranging melody then current. But the *mattakokilā* was evidently a later innovation. It is conspicuously absent in the *Nāṭyasāstra*. It is also noticeably missing from the works of the early poets who name other vīṇās. Obviously, even though it may have been known in the Gupta age or perhaps earlier, it was not a dominant instrument.[2]

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[1] *Saptatantrī bhavechchitrā vipañchi tu bhavennave ! koṇavādyā vipañchi syāchchitrā chānguli-vādanā. Nāṭyaśāstra* (Gaekwad Oriental Series edition) IV, 29, 118.

[2] This is normal; some rare voices can attain more and *ati-tāra* and *ati-mandra* were not unknown to ancient theoreticians, too. Only the range of folk-melodies is often restricted to less than an octave, but the Gupta king, in an age when art-music had reached great sophisticated heights, was certainly not playing folk-music. Moreover, in folk forms song is supreme; instrumental playing of folk-melodies makes little musical sense.

The intimate connection between the human voice and the range in octaves of melodies in ancient times is apparent in the ancient notion of *sthāna*. *Sthāna* was the generic term for the octaves. At the same time the term also denoted the anatomic seat within the human body from which, in singing, the octaves were believed to be produced. Thus the *sthāna* for the *mandra* octave was the chest, for madhya octave the neck region and for the *tāra* octave the head. A note in the mandra octave was often referred to as a chest note; a note in the madhya octave could be called a *Kaṇṭha*-note—or a note of the neck; *tāra* notes were head-notes.

Significant music can be made even with a range of two octaves-which is all that many of our best singers command and doubtless this was true of ancient musicians also. But this is a limitation that the voice has perforce to submit to. An instrumentalist, with a mechanism that can readily be made to cover a wide range at his service, need not do so. To deliberately restrict oneself to just one octave can have no justification-unless the instrument being played was not the chief tool for rendering the melody. This, we suggest, is what obtained in the case of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I. They were making vocal music. Musical range and melodic finesse was attained through the voice; the *saptatantrī* vīṇā served mainly as instrumental support; for though the *saptatantrī* could not provide range it could yet give all necessary notes in the octave of any desired scale.

It can here he argued that even on the open string of a vīṇā of the harp variety, great musical range can be achieved by playing the string in the manner of the Hawaian guitar, or the modern *vichitra-vīṇā* or the south Indian *goṭṭuvādyam*. A single string length can produce more than one octave if properly

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1. *tatra mattakokilā pradhānabhūtā. ekavimśatitantrīkatvenānyūnādhikaṃ tristhānagata svarasāraṇā jātigīti viṇāśarīramuchyate. tadgataścha dhātuprayoga uktaḥ. tadupajīvakatvenāparā bhavantīti.* Abhinava on *Naṭyaśāstra* 29, 112 (See Geekwad edition, Vol. IV).
2. Abhinava is the first writer on music who speaks of the *mattakokilā* with twenty-one strings as the chief of the vīṇās. He cites in this connection a passage from an unnamed earlier authority. In this passage, the *mattakokilā* is listed along with a number of other vīṇās, but its dominance is neither stated nor implied. The number of its strings is also not mentioned. The *Amarakośa* (1. 7. 3) names three vīṇās : *vattakī*, *vipañchī* and *parivādinī*—these are names quite familiar from ancient kāvya literature. The *vipañchī*, according to Bharata, had nine strings, the *parivādinī*, says Amara, had seven; the *vallakī*, too, was certainly not a many-stringed vīṇā. The fact that Amara does not mention the *mattakokilā* is certainly an added evidence for its lateness. There is another significant testimony : *Rājapraśnīyam* (Sūtra 41), the Jain canonical text, which perhaps belongs to the Gupta age, lists a large variety of vīṇās, but the *mattakokilā* is not named.

manipulated by an object which can press it and glide over it. However, such a playing needs both hands, one to strike and another to play the string. The Gupta kings are playing the instrument with only one hand, the other lies idle on the sounding belly of the vīṇā.

The gesture and position of this idle hand is also suggestive. Altekar, wonders why the left hand is above the sounding board and not below it, where it could have lent proper support to the instrument.[1] One could have expected the musician to be holding tight to the vīṇā had the attention of the musician been primarily directed towards the instrument-had he, in other words, been making instrumental music. But if vocal music was the king's chief concern, he would be merely struming the vīṇā, merely sounding the principal note or hotes around which he happened to be weaving his vocal melody.[2] A hand loosely placed above the sounding board can make the instrument secure enough for his purpose. In fact, many modern singers too, while strumming the tānpurā with their right hand, place the other loosely on its round belly.

The gesture of the left palm is also noteworthy. It has been suggested that this is the natural gesture of a musician deep in his music. This may be so; and if so such a gesture is more common with singers than players; for players usually have both their hands full. We suggest another possibility. The gesture, forms what was known as *vyākhyāna mudrā*—though it has not been looked at this way;[3] except that the arm is not raised towards the chest as is

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1. 'One expects the left hand to be placed under the lute in order to support it'. *The Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, Introduction, p. lxix.
2. This may have been done in ways similar to those employed by modern Hindustani vocalists who used the *svaramaṇḍala*. The *svaramaṇḍala* is an old instrument in India, though in its current form it has obviously been influenced by the East European guitar. The *svaramaṇḍala* has a direct kinship with the older harp-vīṇa, especially the *mattakokilā*. Kallinatha commenting on *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* 6, 109-113 says : *mattakokilaiva loke svaramaṇḍalamityuchyate*. The *svaramaṇḍala* never lost its popularity. Abul Fazl lists it among the instruments used during Akbar's reign. Maharaja Sawai Pratap Simha Deva of Jaipur, testifies to the use of the instrument during the end of the eighteenth century in his *Saṅgīta-Sāra* (Hindi) : See Part II, pp. 7·8 (of the Poona Gāyan Samāj edition, Poona 1910).

   It is indeed a curious fact that the modern parallels of the ancient kings' vīṇa-playing portraits are the familiar photographs or paintings of such singers as Bade Ghulam Ali Khan singing with their *svaramaṇḍalas* on their laps.
3. There was no single fixed gesture for the palm in the *vyākhyāna mudrā*. But there are a number of loosely related variations. On some vīṇā type coins the left

usual in this mudrā. But this is easily explained; a person engaged in viṇā-playing could not have raised his free arm as it did act as a support to the vīṇā.

In ancient iconography, the *vyākhyāna mudrā* suggests speech, exposition, teaching—in short, uttering of words. The lips are not shown as parted as this would hamper the expression of serenity and composure associated with *vyākhyāna*. The *mudrā* itself is symbolic of utterance. The *vyākhyāna mudrā* found in association with the vīṇā surely symbolizes the act of singing, which too involves a kind of utterance.

The use of this *mudrā* was a happy stroke on the part of the mint designer. He had so composed the figure as to show the king in profile, thus pushing the vīṇā towards the side and making the figure of the king more prominent. To have shown His Majesty in this posture with his lips parted in song would have resulted in a very uncouth beak like effect.

III

Finally a few words about music, kingship and a historical generalisation commonly made. Historians often speak of music as the tempting devil who lures a king away from his stern regal duties, into the soft arms of decadence, the result being inevitable decay and loss of power. The example of the Gupta kings, especially that of Samudragupta, makes us think twice before endorsing such a generalization. Here were kings who at the height of power and glory took active interest in music, without wallowing in decadence. The fact is that music can be the expression of inner strength, power and glory as well as moral weakness and decadence, for music is as complex and multifaceted as the human mind which uses it as a medium of expression.

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thumb and fore-finger are shown as projecting slightly outwards while in others they bend towards each other in more than a semi-circle. In his *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, J. N. Benerjea, notes that both these positions are found depicted in ancient sculpture, pp. 254-55.

THE KING AND PEACOCK TYPE OF KUMARAGUPTA I AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

JAI PRAKASH SINGH

I

The nomenclature of the so-called Peacock or the Kārttikeya type gold coins of king Kumāragupta I is a matter of some controversy among the numismatists and scholars. Allan styled the type under consideration as Peacock type.[1] Later A. S. Altekar thinking that the type was 'intended to be a numismatic homage to the deity',[2] who is represented on its reverse, named it as 'the Kārtikeya type.'[3] The nomenclature of the type suggested by Altekar found almost ready acceptance among scholars.[4] But recently Prof. C. D. Chatterjee[5] has criticised the approach of Altekar designating the type on the basis of some of the reverse devices of Gupta gold coins. This type of Kumāragupta figures in the examples cited by Chatterjee to show the instances where Altekar has designated a Gupta gold type on the basis of its reverse device. The objection of Chatterjee is valid indeed and from the brief disscussion, he has made on this point, he seems to favour the designation Peacock type following Allan.

We are, however, of the view that even the designation Peacock type is not adequate for the obverse motif, depicted on the type under consideration. We feel, that it would be better and in line, with its obverse depiction,

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1. Allan, *BMC, GD*, pp. xcii; 84.
2. *BHC*, p. ci. Altekar's justification to name the coin type as Kārttikeya type is given in f. n. 2 (Ibid), wherein he observed that "the reverse of this type, which shows the god Kārttikeya himself, is, however, more important than the obverse whose motif occurs on the reverse also of some other types." cf. also *CGE*, pp. 203 ff. It is true that Lakshmī is shown feeding a peacock on the reverse of the Horseman (Class II) and Tiger Slayer types of Kumāragupta I. This, however, cannot be taken to show that the motif on the obverse of the King and Peacock type should be considered less important than its reverse motif. A comparison of the obverse and the reverse devices clearly shows that its obverse has the main depiction.
3. *CGE*, p. 203, n. 1.
4. *JNSI*, XXX, p. 203.
5. *JNSI*, XXXVII, p. 98, n. 1.

to designate this type as King Feeding Peacock Type or simply as King and Peacock type.

II

Prof. J. N. Banerjea has tried to deduce some politico-military conclusions on the basis of this type. To him this type shows the special predilection of the king for the war god Kārttikeya. Accordingly he suggests that "Kumārgupta I was certainly in urgent need of the graces of the war god Kārttikeya, for the period of his rule was troubled by the ruthless invasions of the Hūṇas and the Pushya (Yudhha) mitras, and his special predilection for this martial god is also manifest in the name of one of his sons, viz., Skanda, if not of himself."[1] He has also suggested that the king had possibly dedicated his kingdom to Kārttikeya. But there is nothing to confirm this dedication of the kingdom to the god by Kumāragupta as we shall presently see.

Since Kumāragupta depicted the god on one of his types he must have worshipped him on one account or the other. It is, however, not possible to connect the issue of these coins or their depiction in any way with the Hūṇa invasion, as it does not seem to have occured during the reign of Kumāragupta.[2] The invasion or the military threat of the Pushya (or Yuddha) mitras certainly seems to have affected the Gupta empire towards the close of his reign. The success of Skandagupta against these enemies was achieved after his father's death or shortly before, thereby leaving little time for him to issue these coins to show his gratitude to the god. It will also be erroneous to believe, that the coins were struck immediately after the Pushya (Yuddha) mitra threat came to be known and at a time when steps were being taken to curb it.

III

The King and Peacock type of the King is certainly a Religious type of the Gupta gold coins. It was issued in all probability in contrast to his father's Chakravikrama type.[3] Therefore, it is plausible to investigate for the real significance of this coin-type in the light of the Chakravikrama type. There is no doubt about the view that the Chakravikrama type shows the king Chandragupta II as a recipient of the divine favour on the obverse of the type concerned and he is styled as *Chakravikrmaḥ* on the reverse. The king is shown receiving the favours from the Chakrapurusha rather than from Vishṇu.[1] On the contrary Kumāragupta on the obverse of his King and Peacock type is shown feeding the divine bird, and thus is not shown in direct association of the God, Kārttikeya, who is depicted on the reverse, mounted on peacock and holding *Śakti* in left hand. The King on both the sides is referred to as *Mahendrakumāraḥ*.[2] Mahendra, was the special *viruda* of Kumāragupta just as Vikrama was that of his father.

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[1] J. N. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 142; *A Comprehensive History of India*, pp. 797-798 f. n. 7. P. K. Agrawala is against the dedication of the state to the god, cf. *Skanda-Kārttikeya*, p. 76. But he thinks that Kumāragupta needed the graces of the god (Ibid, p. 77).

[2] cf. J. P. Singh, *History and Coinage of Skandagupta Kramāditya*, pp. 48 ff.

[3] For Chakravikrama type, cf. *BHC*, pp. xci ff; *CGE*, pp. 145 ff.

It is possible to hold that Kumāragupta intended to show himself, by the issue of these coins, as a favourite of the god[3] but at the same time kingly vanity led him to avoid depicting himself as a recipient of anything from the god. It was, for this reason that the god represented on the reverse of these coins was shown scattering perhaps gold coins,[1] which may be suggestive that the grace of god was behind the oppulence of his kingdom. But for himself and his achievements the king refers to his own merits *(jayati svaguṇairguṇa)* on the obverse of these coins.

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[1] *CGE*, p. 148

[2] On the basis of the legend *Mahendrakumāraḥ* it has been suggested that the king Kumāragupta 'considered himself an incarnation of Skanda' (P. K. Agrawala, *Skanda-Kārttikeya*, p. 76; cf. also *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 203 ff). The suggestion is very interesting. But it is hardly convincing. Samudragupta's legends *Vyāghraparākramaḥ* and *Kṛitāntaparaśuḥ* compare him with the valour of the tiger and the battleaxe of Kṛitānta. Similarly *siṃhavikramaḥ* and *Chakravikramaḥ* compare Chandragupta's valour to that of the lion and the Chakra. Kumāragupta's legends of this type include *siṃhamahendraḥ*, *śrīmahendrakhadgaḥ*, and also *Mahendrakumāraḥ* of these coins. All these legends suggest the development of the Coin-*virudas* of the Gupta kings. Just as there is no question of a definite identity of the kings, Samudragupta and Chandragupta, with the objects referred to in the above mentioned legends, save a comparision with them, similarly in case of Kumāragupta I also a total identity is ruled out, even if some of his legends suggest it. Therefore, it is not possible to hold that the king was trying to portray himself as an incarnation of Kārttikeya by the issue of these coins.

[3] Altekar's suggestion that the coins were intended as a numismatic homage to Kārttikeya (*BHC*, p. ci) is baseless. He has not given the possible reasons that may have inspired him to offer this novel homage to the deity. The fact that the king was named after Kumāra-Kārttikeya, does not provide a satisfactory ground to enable him offer this homage. Altekar's suggestion was perhaps inspired by Allan's statement on this point, who said that the type was "issued in honour of Kārttikeya" (*BMC, GD*, p. xcii), and was intended only to show his originality in this observation, as well as in naming it. Banerjea perhaps was influenced by both these scholars when he developed his hypothesis of the dedication of the Gupta kingdom to Kārttikeya by this king. There is no doubt that the coins are

IV

Thus there is no reason to hold that the coin-type under discussion has any politico-military significance. It merely attempts to compare the king with Kārttikeya, as the legend *Mahendrakumāraḥ* also suggests. Further the type, on the basis of its obverse motife should be styled as the King and Peacock type.

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some kind of a commemorative coins issued in honour of Kārttikeya, but their real purpose, if any, perhaps cannot be ascertained at the moment.

[1] Allan opined that the god was shown 'sprinkling incense on altar on r. (?)' with r. hand (*BMC, GD*, p. 84). Altekar, however, thought that the deity was 'apparently scattering something by his right hand upon an object which looks like an altar' (*BHC*, p. ci). In the catalogue portion of the *BHC* (p. 272), however, he said that the god was 'scattering some round objects, apparently *puroḍāśas*, on an indistinct object before him, probably an altar.' cf. also *CGE*, p. 204.

The making of an offering is perhaps incongrous in the case of a god (cf. *JNSI*, XXX, p. 205), hence it is better to take the god as scattering coins or favours in the form of round objects. This also stands well in line with the offering of 3 round objects by the Chakrapurusha to the king Chandragupta II on his Chakravikrama type.

SOME INSCRIBED TERRACOTTA SEALINGS FROM CHANDRAKETUGARH

D. K. CHAKRAVORTY

(Pl. IX)

The explorations and excavations conducted at Chandraketugarh about 35 Kilometres north east from Calcutta, for more than two decades mainly by the Asutosh Meseum of Indian Art, Calcutta University, have brought to light innumerable antiquities and also exposed a stupendous brick temple complex.[1] The Directorate of Archaeology in West Bengal have also carried out explorations at this particular site on a number of occasions resulting in the discovery of a large number of antiquities belonging to the early historic period which are now being preserved and displayed in the State Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal.[2] The present paper, however, is concerned with a number of inscribed terracotta sealings recovered during the surface explorations and also acquired through purchase in the collections of the State Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal.

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[1] The extensive ruins of Chandraketugarh now extending over the villages of Berāchāmpā or Devālaya, Hādipur, Shānpukur, Jhikrā etc. situated within Degangā P. S. in the district of 24 Parganas, West Bengal.

(A) For relevant reports, see *Indian Archaeology A Review*, 1955-56 (hereinafter *IAR*) pp. 61-62 & 71; ibid., 1956-57, pp. 29-30, 73, 81 & Pl LXXXVI, F; ibid., 1957-58, pp. 51-53, p. 70 and pp 72-73 and Pl LXXXIII, 1; ibid, 1958-59, pp. 55-56, p. 77; ibid. 1959-60, pp. 50-52, pp. 77-78; ibid, 1960-61, pp 39-40, 68, 70; ibid, 1961-62, pp. 62-63, pp. 106-107; ibid, 1962-63, pp. 46-47, p. 74; ibid., 1963-64, pp. 63-65, 94-95; ibid., 1964-65, pp. 52-53, 79-80; ibid., 1965-66, pp. 59-60, 96; ibid., 1967-68, pp. 50, 74-75; ibid., 1968-69, p. 76; and also.

(B) (i) Das Gupta, P. C., Early Terracottas from Chandraketugarh, pp. 45-52, *Lalit Kal* , No. 6, October, 1959, New Delhi.

(ii) 'The Gangaridae—A Forgotten Civilization' pp. 61-128, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, (New Series) III, 1960, Calcutta.

(C) Goswami, K. G.,—'Chandraketugarh and its Archaeological Importance,' pp. 42-46, *Indian Museum Bulletin*, No. 2, July 1966, Calcutta.

(D) '*Garh Chandraketur Kathā*, A collection of articles on various cultural aspects of Chandraketugarh by different scholars in Bengali, edited by Sri Dilip Kumar Maity, published from Devālaya, 24 Parganas, 1379, B. S.

[2] Das Gupta, P. C., *Archaeological Discovery in West Bengal* (a Bulletin of the Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal, No. 1, Calcutta 1963).

Let us now take up the circular sealing, dia. 3.4 cms (Acc. No. T109 *Sealing No. 1* of the present paper—**Pl. IX. 1**) depicting a voluted *toraṇa* perched with a peacock and flanked by such auspicious symbols or *nidhis* as lotus with stalks (*padma*), a conch (*sankha*) and what appears to be a formalised *Vṛikshacha-itya* and encircled by an inscription. The sealing bears cord marks on its convex reverse portion where impressions of palm leaves with which it was fastened also occur. The peacock depicted on this sealing perhaps represents a dynastic *lāñchhana* (insignia) or it may be associated with some particular cult deity. Elsewhere we have tried to interpret the significance of some of the symbols engraved on this particular sealing and also made an attempt to correlate the symbols associated with the abode of the Yaksha Kubera at Alakāpurī as described in the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa.[1] Recently P. C. Das Gupta after narrating the descriptions of *Vanavedikās* flanked by tall gateways as recorded in the Jaina work *Mahāpurāṇa* by Jinasena has tried to arrive at a conclusion that the *toraṇa* depicted on the sealing may perhaps remind us about the existence of a *Vanavedikā* associated with some ancient Jaina monument of West Bengal.[2] It may be pointed out in this context that this *toraṇa* motif either found engraved on the terracotta sealing or on the copper cast coins pertaining to the early historic period assumed much prominence and became a popular decorative motif in this part of India.[3] However, the real significance about the presence of this particular symbol on the sealings and coins can be ascertained when the legend of the sealing is fully deciphered. On stylistic consideration the sealing question may be ascribed to *circa* 1st century B. C. From our observation it appears that there are 25 letters or signs arranged in a cyclic order near its lower outer border, a few of which have got some similarity with the early Brāhmī script and its later developed forms. Repetition of the same letter or sign side by side can also be observed.

It may be recalled in this connection that some couple of years back Sudhansu Kumar Ray who is making some admirable attempts to decipher the

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[1] Chakravarty, D. K., 'Some Reflections on the Torana Motif in the Early Indian Art', pp. 27-30, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Mysore Session (1966),

[2] Das Gupta, P. C., 'On Riṣabha's visit to Takshaśila, pp. 8-11, *Jain Journal*, VI, No. 1, July, 1971, Calcutta.

[3] *IAR*, 1901, p. 39. A terracotta sealing with the design of a peacock sitting on a *toraṇa* recovered from the filling of the deep pit exposed at the excavated temple area of Khanāmihirer dhipi. Some seals were collected from the surface during explorations conducted by the Asutosh Museum. Reference is also invited to the pages 79 & 100 of the article mentioned against Sl. 1B (ii) above on p. 128.

Indus script has drawn our attention to an inscribed terracotta seal recovered from Chandraketugarh which has the motif of the crest of the navy engraved on it.[1] According to Ray "it contains 19 signs similar or near similar to the Indus script....... The signs show similarity with the Brāhmī and the Semitic alphabets too. They provide us with a link between the Indus valley script and the script of the Mauryan period as well as the traditional scripts of the late age. They fill up the 'gap' and recover the 'missing link' in the Indian history, art and archaeology, which uptil now existed betweeen the chalcolithic culture of the historic period. The seal which is of pre-Mauryan antiquity should be dated sometimes between 300 and 900 B. C." He has also compared the majority of signs appearing on this seal with those engraved on the Indus Valley seals and has found these to be identical, while some other signs he considers as derivatives of the Indus script. Though the observations of S. K. Ray are interesting and thought-provoking, it is difficult to accept this far-reaching conclusion until the inscribed seals are found in a definite stratigraphic sequence and associated with the antiquities of the same period. The legend of the sealing also requires to be deciphered in its entirety and for which cooperation from the scholars is being sought for by us.

Indications of a period associated with brisk maritime activities before and after the beginning of the Christian era can be deduced from a number of terracotta seals or sealings[2] and coins[3] impressed with the 'ship' motif as have been found from Chandraketugarh. In addition to the sealings and coins in the collections of Asutosh Museum, there are two inscribed terracotta sealings in the collection of the State Archaeological Gallery on which the 'ship' motif has been found engraved. In this context it is interesting to recall the observations of Prof. Goswami, the excavator of the site. "The excavation has brought to light evidences to prove that Chandraketugarh was a flourishing coastal town from about 4th century B. C. to the post-Gupta age having trade contacts with foreign countries in the early period of its history."[1] The sealings with 'ship' motif under discussion as recovered from Chandraketugarh thus give ample support to the deduction already made by Goswami. He also finds signs of foreign contacts with the Graeco-Roman world in the art objects unearthed at Chandraketugarh.[2]

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[1] Inscribed terracotta seal from Chandraketugarh Fig. 14 printed on the front cover and description on the inside front cover page of the booklet *Indus Script, Methods of My Study* by Sudhansu Kumar Ray, New Delhi-3, N. D.; also pp. 12-13 ibid. cf. The mysterious signs or letters appearing on the clay sealings from Bangarh 9, 10, Dinajpur, p. 12, *Excavations at Bangarh* (1938-41) by K. G. Goswami, Calcutta, 1948.

[2] *IAR*, 1961, p. 70. 'A terracotta sealing belonging to the early Kushana period also bore a ship motif with details' and also cf. *IAR*, 1962-63, p. 74. 'Two inscribed sealings from Chandraketugarh deserve special mention as they depict the masted ship motif. This is an evidence of the brisk maritime activities in the early centuries of the Christian era.

[3] *IAR*, 1960-61 p. 70. Some unique punch-marked coins of dolphin type, exhibiting a ship have been recovered during surface explorations from Chandraketugarh; and also cf. *IAR*, 1961-62, p. 107. 'Three well preserved specimens of copper punch-marked coins of the ship type were also collected from the same site'. During the excavations at Chandraketugarh conducted in the year 1962-63, punch-marked copper coins with ship-motifs were unearthed from the level above the

Now let us describe the sealings with the 'ship' motif in the collections of the State Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal. There is a circular sealing (dia. 3.2 cms.), *Sealing No. 2* (**Pl. IX. 2**) of the present paper) with single impression of a full-rigged ship lying at anchor with its flag flying over the main mast-head. The ship has sails which have been rolled up and fastened with the circular rings hanging horizontally near the mast head. The large hull is resting in the water and is found tied with the stern. Impression of an ear of corn (?) or some plant motif has been found engraved just above the hull. There appear to be some 13 letters inscribed around the circular border of dots and dashes. This sealing also bears impressions of cord marks on its near flat reverse. Although some of the letters as inscribed on the sealing under discussion have got some similarities with the Brāhmī of the Suṅga period (viz., letters like *ja* etc.) yet it is difficult to decipher the legend in full.

The *Sealing No. 3* (**Pl. IX. 3**) of the present note is like a round ball (dia 2.54 cms., Acc. No. T 687) with the double impressions in incuse on both the obverse and the reverse and having the impression of the forepart of a ship impressed on the obverse. Notchings of lunate designs arranged in two rows (altogether 12 such lunate signs) also occur on the reverse of the sealing along with the inscription which is rather indistinct due to abrasion. The inscription on the obverse portion of the sealing is not fully legible, however, a *swastika*

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natural soil and ascribed to the Period I of Chandraketugarh. These were found in association with N.B.P. Ware, cf. *IAR*, 1962-63, p. 46.

[1] Goswami, K. G., op. cit., p. 43.

[2] Ibid., p. 45.

symbol appears to have been engraved near the mast head. The ships engraved on these sealings resemble the high masted ships of burden as engraved on the coins of Imperial Rome. Regarding the decipherment of the legend of the *Sealing No. 3,* D. C. Sircar has observed that "the reading is doubtful. The script is Brāhmī of about the beginning of the Christian era....On the reverse there is a group of *aksharas* which may possibly be read as *Savasa Kamma* and if the reading is correct it would mean the work of Sarva (or Śarva)."

The *Sealing No. 4* (**Pl. IX. 4**) (dia. 2 cms) is a small circular sealing which is much affected by salt action. It appears that impression of a stylised 'tree within railing' has been engraved on this particular sealing. Due to the imperfect nature of the sealing it can also be surmised that the symbol occurring on this sealing may be a spear tied with a battle-axe placed inside a railing. Some indistinct letters may be traced out on this sealing. It may be recalled in this context that in the year 1958-59 during the excavations conducted at Khanāmihirer-dhipi, Chandraketugarh, a terracotta plano-convex sealing was unearthed from the occupational deposits of Period II which shows a tree-in-railing on the flat obverse and a legend in Gupta script while the convex reverse indicates a few post-firing scratched letters in Gupta script.[1]

The *Sealing No. 5* (**Pl. IX. 5** dia. 2.5 cms) is also a round one with a flat reverse and having the impression of the ears of corn united at the bottom or some plant motif with three branches engraved on the obverse. There appears to be some 12 letters inscribed in the lower half of the circular obverse which however are not legible. Incidentally, attention of the scholars may be drawn to a circular, inscribed, flat clay seal, bearing three stalks of wheat plant united at the lower end in low relief and enclosed by an inscription with 22 letters of the Gupta period (4th century A. D.) on the margin as recovered during the excavations at Mahāsthāngarh, dist. Bogra in Bangladesh, the symbol of which is exactly identical with our present sealing.[2] An exactly same symbol also occurs on the obverse of a terracotta sealing (dia. 1½ inches) collected from the surface of Chandraketugarh where two additional signs appear on both of its sides on the obverse. This sealing has got 8 letters inscribed in the lower half of the circular obverse in addition to some scratchings made on its outer edge.[1] Our sealing has got some pre-firing scratch marks done with bold incisions on the convex edge of the reverse. Over and above these scratchings there are two separate inscriptions inscribed on the reverse. The single Brahmi letter *ka* (of the Suṅga period) has been found engraved within a circular incuse while in a rectangular incuse there appear to be 3 letters in bold character as found inscribed. The main symbol as appearing on these sealings has thus got some added significance as it has been found engraved on the sealings unearthed from two different areas of ancient Bengal situated wide apart viz. the one recovered from Mahāsthāngarh in ancient Puṇḍravardhana while the others come from Chandraketugarh in ancient Vaṅga.

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[1] *IAR*, 1958-59, p. 56.

[2] *Pakistan Archaeology*, Number 5, 1968, Karachi, p. 113 and PL. XLVIII A. (cf. similar device engraved on the coin of Metapontum, a Greek Colony in Italy (*circa* 6th Cent. B. C.) p. 209, and PL. 19. cf. Boardman, *The Greek Overseas*, 1964, Pelican—A 581.

The *Sealing No. 6* (**Pl. IX. 6**) (dia. 2.5 cms.; Acc. No. T 732) is the most interesting one of our collections as it portrays a Devī standing facing, hands akimbo, wearing *chiton*; the tubular folds of which betray Grecco-Roman influence. Her coiffure *(alakāvalī)* has been arranged in a trefoil pattern. By her right hand she is seen holding a boy nimbate and half seated to her right. An impression of a bird (owl ?) sitting on a roost appears near the left shoulder of the Devī, below which there are two indistinct signs or letters. There appear to be some 17 letters arranged as half circle serving as the legend, which are rather indistinct and difficult to decipher. The conception of the Devī holding a boy or a child as depicted on the sealing reminds us about the Rākshasī Jarā mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 18. 1-6) to which our attention has been drawn by J. N. Banerjea.[2] Banerjea quotes 'that Rākṣasī Jarā has power to assume different forms (*Kāmarūpiṇī*) and she is worshipped not only in the royal household itself, but also venerated by the people in general; her youthful figure surrounded by her children is painted on the palace walls; whoever draws her figure in this manner on the walls of his house is blessed with plenty, he, who does not do so is cursed with scarcity'. Banerjea also finds much similitude with this Rākshasī Jarā with the Yakshiṇī Hāritī of the Buddhist texts, myths connected with whom have been recorded in the *Vinayapiṭaka*, the *Mahāvastu*, the *Samyūktaratnasūtra* of the Chinese *Sūtrapiṭaka*, etc. The Hāritī cult became very popular in the extreme north and north-west of India and even its influence spread outside India which can be deduced from the numerous sculptures sometimes depicting Hāritī singly along with her children, or at other times in the company of her consort Kubera (known also a Pāñchika) and her playing children as discovered from different parts of India and also from abroad. In the centre of the reverse of this sealing the impression of ears of corn united at the bottom or the plant motif with three branches has been found engraved. There appears to be some 10 letters arranged in half circle below the above symbol. The letters are indistinct. It is interesting to note that the above symbol has been found engraved on the obverse of the clay seal from Mahāsthāngarh (dated *circa* 4th Cent. A. D.) and also on the obverse of two clay sealings from Chandraketugarh as described above. If it is described as the bunches of ears of corn then its association with Jarā or Hāritī signifying fertility or oppulence is interesting and adds much significance. Two other letters viz., Brāhmī *ka* and *chhu* in post-Mauryan character (or it may be the Greek letter *phi*) have been found inscribed side by side on two separate circular incuse. Another row of inscription presumably in *Kharoshṭhī* script (some 10 letters) has been found engraved around the edges on the reverse. The significance of the multiple impressions on this sealing presumably with multiple scripts will be fully understood as and when all the legends engraved on both the sides of the sealing are fully deciphered.

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[1] *IAR*, 1956-57, p. 73 and PL. LXXXVI, D.

[2] Banerjea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 380-381, Calcutta, 1956.

Thus we have tried to describe some of the inscribed sealings from Chandraketugarh in our collection which are interesting no doubt from the point of view of the study of different devices, symbols and iconography. However, much more can be said about these sealings when the legends are fully deciphered and for which we may be permitted to draw the attention of the scholars and particularly the epigraphists for solving the riddle.

A NOTE ON A FEW SERIES OF SILVER COINS

B. N. MUKHERJEE

M. Mitchiner has recently published some silver coins of "Chandra Kings of East Bengal ("A Group of Broad Repousse Silver Coins struck by the Chandra Kings of East Bengal, Circa A. D. 1000", *The Numismatic Circular*, January, 1978, pp. 8-9). The present note is a review of his article.

1. M. Mitchiner has, following A. H. Dani, assigned some silver coins (bull/"trident") found in the Sylhet district and the Mainamati area of the Comilla district to one main series of coins ("Yarikriya" series). He thinks that the legend on the two major groups "Yarikriya" coins should be read as *Bharikeṭa* and *Parikeṭa*, "variant names for the Chandra capital" Paṭṭikerā.

The above inferences involve several factual mistakes. Three hoards of silver specie and a fair number of isolated silver coins (bull : "trident") unearthed during excavations at Mainamati bear the legend *Paṭṭikelā, Paṭṭikerā* or *Paṭṭikeḍā* or *Paṭṭikeḍa* (B. N. Mukherjee, "Some Observations on the Coins Paṭṭikeḍā", *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, 1975-76, vol. IV, pp. 19-21). T. N. Ramachandran, who first noticed the relevant series of coins, read the legend *Paṭikerya* (*B. C. Law Volume*, pt. II, p. 217). A. H. Dani read the legend as *Paṭṭikera* (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1962, vol. XXIV, p. 141). But the correct reading seems to be *Paṭṭikelā* or *Paṭṭikerā* or *Paṭṭikeḍā* or *Paṭṭikeḍa*. The legend obviously refers to *Paṭṭikeḍā* or *Paṭṭikerā,* the name of a kingdom as well as of a town including the Mainamati area.

It has been already shown, on the basis of stratigraphic evidence and other data, that these coins were in circulation in the Comilla area during the rule of the Devas (*c.* 8th century A. D.) (*JVRM,* 1975-76, vol. IV. pp. 22-26).

A few (three ?) silver coins, bearing "bull" and "trident" devices and found at Salban vihāra (Comilla), are inscribed with the legend *Lalitakaraḥ* (*sic.*). These may be referred to the so-called "Ākara" family, coins of which were first noticed by R. D. Banerjee. The names of the known rulers of this family are Lalitākara, (Ra)myākara, (*Pra*)*dyumnākara* and *A* (*nnā* or *ntā*)*kara*(*Numismatic Supplement*, 1920, no. XXXIII, pl. 85; *JVRM*, 1975-76, vol. IV, p. 23). The Ākaras could have ruled in the Mainamati area immediately after the Devas (*JVRM*, 1975-76, vol. IV, p. 26).

Two (?) silver coins, found at Mainamati, bear the legend *Dharmavijaya.* These might have been issued by an Arakanese King called Dharmavijaya, and might have been drifts.

It appears that the Chandra of Eastern Bangladesh, who came into prominence only in the late 9th and/or early 10th century A. D., had nothing to do with the silver coins found in the Comilla district and bearing the legend *Paṭṭikelā, Paṭṭikerā* or *Paṭṭikeḍā* or *Paṭṭikeḍa*. These coins should not be confused with the silver coins (bull: "trident"), belonging to the so-called *Yārikriya* series. Coins belonging to the latter series are known for a long period. They have been found in different areas including Sylhet (*NC*, 1960, pp. 229-234). Legend on these pieces have been variously read as *Yari Kriya, Yārikriya, Harikota, Charikota, Pariketa*, etc. The correct reading of the legend is, however *Harikela* or *Harikelā* (For reasons for this reading, see the *Monthly Bulletin, The Asiatic Society*, January, 1976, pp. 9-10; *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1976, vol. XVIII, p. 99). This reading of the inscription, suggested by the present author in January, 1976, has since been accepted by well-known epigraphists including Dr. D. C. Sircar (*Early Indian Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies*, p. 44, n). The pieces concerned were obviously coins of the territory called *Harikela* or *Harikelā*.

Palaeographically the majority of Harikela (bull : "trident") coins may be attributed to *c.* 7th century A. D., when Harikela included the Chittagong region, (*MB, AS*, January, 1976, pp. 9-10). So initially these might not have been struck by the Chandras of Bangladesh, who rose to power at a later period. These were minted by some local authorities on the model of the coins of the Chandras of Arakan, who ruled in nearby areas. These coins, in their turn, influenced the above noted coinage of the nearby territory of Paṭṭikerā. However, several other coins of this series Harikela specie, which may be palaeographically dated to a later period, might have been minted officially or unofficially during the rule of the Chandras.

As it has been shown recently, the area of the regular use of the coinage of Harikela might have been expanded with the expansion of the territory denoted by the name Harikela. As the Chandras of Bangladesh augmented their sphere of influence from their base in Harikela (including the Chittagong area) the name *Harikela* became associated with Vaṅga, Samataṭa, and Śrihaṭṭa. (*Bangladesh Lalitkalā*, 1975, vol. I, no. 2, p. 119). Harikela under the Chandras then at one stage included Paṭṭikerā. The area of the circulation of its coins included the localities where Paṭṭikerā coins had been in circulation in an earlier age.

Thus there was no "Yarikriya" series of coins. There were coins bearing "bull", "trident" and the legend *Harikela* or *Harikelā*. These influenced the coinage of the territory of Paṭṭikerā and later might have been in circulation in the Paṭṭikerā region also (after Paṭṭikerā had become a part of Harikela), Mitchiner is obviously wrong in reading the legend *Bhariketa* and *Pariketa* on these two series of coins and in grouping them under so-called Yarikriya series of specie.

2. The thin silver coins, published by Mitchiner in *The Numismatic Circular*, January, 1978, were first noticed by the present author in 1976 in the *Coin Review* (*A Quarterly Bulletin of the Numismatic Society of India*, April-July, 1976, vols. III-IV, pp. 2-3, and pl. I, no. 11). These coins which bear impression (displaying bull and legend) only on one side, can be broadly divided into two groups. Following the arguments furnished in the *MBAS*, January, 1976, the legend on the first group can be read as *Harikela* or *Harikelā* (*CR*, loc. cit.,). The legend on the first coin published by Mitchiner should be read as *Harikela* and not *Vareketa*. For a similar form *ha*, see the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXXII, pl. facing p. 108. The fourth letter of the legend is certainly *la* and not *ṭa*.

The legends on the second group of coins refer to certain names. These can be read as *Veraka* (variants—*Vereka*, and *Verake*), *Vīraka*, *Pīraka*, *Varīta*, *Śivagiri*, *Jayagiri*, etc. (*Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta University, 1977, vol. X).

Palaeographically the majority of these two groups of specie should be dated after the first series of Harikela coins. The coins of the first of these two groups may constitute the second series of Harikela specie. Developed palaeographic features on some of them may suggest that they might have been continued to be minted even in 12th or early 13th century A. D. So even if these coins were struck during the age of the Chandras, the practice of minting them (officially or unofficially) could have continued till the conquest of the area of eastern Bangladesh by the Islamic power (*CR*, 1976, vol. III-IV, pp. 2-3; *JAIH*, vol. X).

It has been suggested that the above noted names like *Veraka*, *Pīraka*, etc., denoted different localities where the coins in question were struck and/or were put into circulation (*ibid.*). Palaeographically these coins, bearing affinity to the second series af Harikela coinage, may be assigned to about the same period as that of the latter class of Harikela specie. Not only the pieces in question are intimately connected with the regular Harikela coinage, but also they are so far known to have been found only along with the second class Harikela specie and within the possible limits of the territory once included in Harikela. These premises lead us to infer that these pieces were coins of different localities of Harikela struck during the period of currency of Harikela coins. These were either put into circulation independently of the authorities responsible for striking Harikela coins, or rather, were minted as local varieties of Harikela coinage (*ibid.*).

A comprehensive paper on Harikela coinage was presented by the present author at a seminar on 'Coinages and Economy of North-Eastern States of India', organised by the Numismatic Society of India in November, 1977. A corpus of these coins, which are now known to us in large number, is under preparation.

The above note shows that Mitchiner's paper does not furnish either new or fully correct information.

MURADI TANKAH

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

In some of the chronicles of the time of the Mughal emperor Akbar, viz. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizāmuddīn, *Muntakhabut-tawārīkh* of Badāonī and *Mīrāt-i-Sikandarī* of Sikandar bin Mañjū, values are referred to in many places in terms of *Murādī Taṅkaḥ*. One such reference in *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* had attracted the attention of Edward Thomas; and he maintained that the *Murādī Taṅkah*, mentioned therein, was the double *Dām* of Akbar. Lanepoole, on the other hand, did not agree with this suggestion. He was confident that the *Murādī Taṅkaḥ* of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* was nothing but the single *Dām.*[2]

Later, Hodivala[3] brought together all the references of the *Murāḍī Taṅkah* in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and the *Muntakhabut-tawārīkh* and pointed out that the word *dām* was nowhere used by Badāonī and Nizāmuddīn. The word is conspicously its absence in their works. He also noticed that the word *Murādī taṅkah* occurs for the first time in Nizamuddin's account of the events of the twenty-fifth regnal year. Its latest use is found in the *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh* in the fortieth regnal year. He tried to adduce evidence to show that the *Murādī taṅkaḥ* was equal to two *Dāms*, as was suggested by Thomas. No doubt in *Āin-i-Akbari*, a coin of two-*Dām* is called *Taṅkaḥ*; but then no where in the entire book, it is called *Murādī*. Why the *Taṅkaḥ* of two *Dams* was called *Murādī* by Badāonī and Nizāmuddin, he did not or could not explain.

Akbar's *Taṅkaḥ* coins of the value of two *dāms* are not known earlier than his 40th regnal year, while the references of the *Murādī taṅkaḥ*, which according to Thomas and Hodivala was of the same value, are mentioned in the chronicles for the period earlier than the 40th regnal year. It naturally raises the question, whether the *Murādī taṅkaḥ,* during this period was actually a coin or was only a money of account. Hodivala has hesitated to answer this pertinent question in any positive manner. He however thought that these *taṅkaḥs* might have been coined in the earlier period of Akbar also.

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1. *Chronicles*, Ed. 1871, pp. 441-45; *Revenue Sources of the Mughal Empire*, p. 7.
2. *Aurangzeb*, Rulers of India Series, p. 128, Note; Hunter, *Indian Empire*, 3rd Ed , pp. 323ff.
3. *NS*, XXVIII, pp. 80-96.

Whitehead has added a long note to the said article of Hodivala.[1] Therein he has accepted the conclusions of Hodivala that *Murādī taṅkah* and *taṅkaḥ* meant one and the same coin; and its value was two *dāms*. But at the same time, he thought that the word *Murādī* was redundant and it signified that the *taṅkaḥ* were copper money or currency; and that it was almost entirely a money of account and that a few specimens were struck more as curiosities than as circulating medium. But no coin of the value or weight of two *Dāms*, either as a coin of currency or as a curio piece of the period earlier than the fortieth year of Akbar ever came to light during the entire period of the numismatic researches in India, to substantiate Hodivala and Whitehead.

More than sixty years have elapsed since Hodivala and Whitehead wrote as above. I am not aware if any scholar paid any attention to this enigmatic numismatic term—*Murādī Taṅkaḥ*. My own attention went to it only when my friend Jñāna Chandra, showed me a few years back, copies of some orders issued by the *Sūbedārs* of Malwa in the reign of Aurangzeb. He had obtained them from the *pujārī* of the Mahākāleśvara temple at Ujjain, through the good offices of the late Surya Narayan Vyas, a renowned scholar and notary of that town.[2] These orders disclose State's benovolence towards a brāhmaṇa family and are dispersed over a number of years between the 7th and the 48th regnal year of emperor Aurangzeb and are addressed to the *musaddīs* of *chabūtarā* Kotwālī, *parganā* Shahjahanpur (Ujjain) in the *sirkār* of Sarangpur of *Subā* Malwa. The earliest of them was issued by Sūbedār Najābat Khān on 20th Zilqada of the 7th regnal year, granting a daily allowance of three *Murādī taṅkaḥ* to one Kūkā Brāhmaṇa. On the death of Kūkā, his son Kāñjī petitioned in the 17th regnal year for the continuance of the subsistence allowance, granted to his father. Islām Khān, the then Sūbedār of Malwa, admitted his petition and sanctioned the subsistence allowance But here in his order, the amount of the allowance is mentioned as three *Bahlūlī Ālamgīrī*. This order was renewed next year i. e. in the eighteenth regnal year under the signature of the same Sūbedār and here we have the amount mentioned as three *Murādī taṅkah*. The same three *Murādī taṅkaḥ* is mentioned in the order of the next Sūbedār Mukhtār Khān, issued in the year 1087 A. H. (20th regnal year). In the renewal order, issued in the 28th regnal year by another Sūbedār Mughal Khān, the amount of allowance is given as *Taṅkaḥ Murādī Ālamgīrī.* In the order of the 48th year, issued by this very Sūbedār, the amount is again called three *Murādī Taṅkaḥ.*

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[1] Ibid, pp. 96-98.

[2] The text of these orders have since been published by Jñān Chandra in the *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Research Society*, VI, pp. 55-62.

These orders are not the only documents of the time of Aurangzeb, where the term *Murādī taṅkaḥ* is mentioned. From a passage in the *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī,* it appears that this term was usually used in the official documents of Aurangzeb's time. The reference of this term in this work is as follows : "In the year one thousand and ninety-four (A. H.), it was ordered, in accordance with the request submitted by the administrator (*Nāzim*) of the *Suba* (of Gujarat), on behalf of those prisoners and deceased persons, who belonged to the Musalman community and had no well-to-do relatives, that every such prisoner in the guard-house of the *Kotwal* should have, per head, one seer of wheat flour and every individual defunct should have two sheets and five *Muradi tankah* given for (the burial expences) from the public treasury."[1] It is not known if the term was used in any document of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Thus the continous use of the term from the time of Akbar onwards cannot be verified. But the orders cited above help to understand the term.

In the orders, cited above, we see that the amount is the same three *taṅkaḥ,* which is described variously in them, viz. *Murādī taṅkah, Bahlūlī Ālamgīrī, Taṅkaḥ Murādī Ālamgīrī.* It is obvious that all these terms refer to one and the same coins and the term *Muradi tankah* was popular from the very beginning almost till the end of Aurangzeb's reign.

Of these terms, two-*Bahlūli Ālamgīrī* and *Taṅkaḥ Murādī Ālamgīrī* have a common appellation. *Ālamgīrī* which signifies that the *Bahlūlī* and *Taṅkaḥ Murādī,* meant in the orders were those that were issued by Âlamgir (Aurangzeb). Thus we come to know that *Bahlūlī* and *Taṅkaḥ Murādī* are synonymous and refer to one and the same kind of copper coins of Aurangzeb. Now, we are informed by Abul Fazl that *Dām* of Akbar was called earlier by the names of *Paisā* and *Bahlūlī.*[2] From him, we come to know that Bahlūlī was another name of *Dām.* Thus, he helps us to know that *Taṅkaḥ Murādī,*

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[1] Bombay Litho, 1307 A. H., p. 382.

[2] *Ain-i-Akbari,* Tr. Blochman, I, p. 31.

Bahlūlī Ālamgīrī and *Taṅkaḥ Murādī Ālamgīrī* meant nothing else but the coin *Dām*.

Since the Malwa orders, cited above, refer to the *Bahlūlī* and *Murādī Taṅkaḥ* of Ālamgir (Aurangzeb) and not of Akbar, it is necessary to be sure that the coins of Aurangzeb, that are meant in these orders, were the same as the *Dām* of Akbar in their weight and value. To elicit this information, we would refer to two passages from *Mīrat-i-Ahmadī*.

In one of the passages of *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, it is said that 'In those days (i. e. in 1076 A. H.), copper had become scarce, the money changers of the city of Ahmadabad had black (copper) coins of iron (made and) circulated; and they exchanged them only at exorbitant (heavy) rates. Consequently, Mahabat Khan (the Sūbedār of Ahmadabad) ordered out a large quantity of copper from all quarters and had it stamped with the auspicious name (i. e. the name of the emperor), though a slight reduction was made in the weight, in comparision with the old black (copper) coins. He issued to the Suprintendent of the mint a *sanad* for writing off the annual profit made from the black (copper) coinage. The Superintendent reported the matter to the *Dīwan* of the *Sūbā*, who declared that without a *sanad* from his Majesty, he could not forgo the said revenue from the copper money. The Governor of the Province replied that if his *sanad* was upheld by the court, it would be (so much the) better; otherwise his humble-self would (out of his private purse) pay to the public treasury the amout of the annual revenue (made by the state from the copper coinage). When the above-mentioned fact reached the August Presence through the reports (of the Official Newswriters), an Imperial mandate was benificently addressed to the *Dīwān* that the weight of the *Dām* was (now) fixed at 14 *Māshās*, that pieces of that weight should be coined and circulated, and that one year's revenue of the mint was not to be accounted for.'[1]

The second passage tells us that 'The *mutsaddis* in-charge of the garden-houses and other *kārkhānās* (establishments) of the city of Ahmadabad represented to the celestial court that the wages of the labourers and others had been formerly paid in a *fulūs* weighing 21 *māshās*; but the issue of the said *fulūs* had been laid aside (stopped) since the beginning of the month of Shawwāl of the aforesaid year (1076 A. H.) and another *fulūs* of the auspicious *Ālamgīrī* stamp, of which the weight had been fixed at 14 *māshās*, had become current; that the labourers refused to accept this coin in lieu of the former *fulūs* and said that the one differed from the other as ten (differs) from fifteen. When this fact reached the August Presence, the *Dīwān* of *Sūbā* recieved orders to the effect that in the payment of the daily wages, the value of *Taṅkaḥ* in *fulūs* should be raised in proportion of ten to fifteen."[1]

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[1] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Bombay Litho, 1307 A. H., part I, pp. 279-80.

These passages, taken together, bring out the facts that (i) prior to the month of Shawwal. 1076 A.H., the copper coins of Aurangzeb weighed 21 *māshās* due to the increase of the cost of copper; (ii) the copper coin of Aurangzeb of 21 *māshās* was called *Dam*; (iii) the Emperor ordered to pay the daily wages in the new coinage in proportion of the older coin i. e. 15 for 10, i. e. 3 new coins for the two of the older ones.

Abul Fazl states that the weight of Akbar's *Dām* was 1 *Tolā* 8 *māshās* and 7 *surkhs* i. e. 20 7/8 *māshās*, which is only 1/8 *māshā* short of the weight of Aurangzeb's older coin, given in the *Mirāt*. This difference is negligible and we can conveniently say that the *Dām* of Akbar and the *Dām* of Aurangzeb carried the same weight and value. And as such the term *Murādī taṅkaḥ* carried the same meaning in the time of Aurangzeb as was understood in the time of Akbar. In short *Murādī Taṅkaḥ* was a term which was used for *Dām*.

In closing this discussion, it seems neccessary to say that what *Mirāt* said about the conditions in Ahmadabad, was true for the whole Mughal empire. We have the copper coins of Aurangzeb of the period prior to the 1076 A. H. of the weight in the proximity of 320 grains, very much the same as 21 *māshās*. The coins of the reduced weight i. e. of 14 *māshās* i. e. in the proximity of 214 grains are known not only of Ahmadabad but of the mints scattered in all parts of the empire. The reduced weight was not the innovation of the Sūbedār of Ahmadabad; but the coins of this weight were already introduced a few years earlier at Akbarābād and Shāhjahānābād.[2]

It now remains to explain as to why the *Dāms* of Akbar and Aurangzeb were called *Muradī Taṅkaḥ* in their chronicles and records. So far the coinage of Aurangzeb is concerned, it is apparent that the Malwa orders are all dated after the 7th regnal i. e. the year when the *fulūs* of 14 mashas had come in

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1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, part I, p. 282.
2. *P. M. C.*, Coin Nos. 1971-72; 1954.

vogue and the emperor had ordered to make the daily payments in terms of the old coinage i. e. *Dām* of 21 *māshās*; so, in contradistinction of the lower weight coin, this term would have been used in documents to mean that the payment was to be made in terms of the old coins of 21 *māshās*. Perhaps some similar reason might have led the chroniclers of Akbar's period to use this term. We cannot be so specific in his case; but it may well be surmised that side by side the *Dams* of Akbar, coins of the earlier rulers of various weights would have been current in the market (as the coins bore intrinsic value) and were probably referred to by one and the same common name; so, to distinguish the imperial coinage, from the other coins this appellation might have been used. But why the appellation *Murādī* was used for these coins is not clear to us. Possibly some lexicographer might be able to explain the true meaning.

THE DURATION OF THE REIGN OF ALAUDDIN HUSAIN SHAH OF BENGAL, IN THE LIGHT OF A NEW COIN DATED 931 A. H.

G. S. FARID

(Pl. VII)

The duration of the reign of Alauddin Husain Shah of Bengal is a controversial issue. The lack of historical records about the Sultans of Bengal are the chief cause of the obscurity of events. Their history has been constructed by putting together pieces of stray references cited here and there by the medieval historians. Sometimes numismatic and epigraphic evidences constitute the only basis for the history of some of these rulers.

Alauddin was a Syedzada, his paternity is established from one of his coins.[1] By sheer dint of his merit he rose from the post of an ordinary soldier to the rank of Prime Minister, of the last Habshi ruler Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah.[2] The reign of Muzaffar Shah was the reign of terror and tyranny which led to chaos and discontentment in the court and in the country. According to Nizamuddin,[3] Alauddin conspired against the Sultan and killed him with the help of his guards (paiks) in the year 899 A. H.; whereas according to Ferishta[4] and Salim,[5] the Sultan died in the field of battle.

Regarding the date of accession of Husain Shah, Blochmann[6] writes, "The year 903 A. H. given by Prinsep, has been obtained by adding the years assigned by *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and Ferishta to Firoz Shah's successor of whom Mahmud Shah is said to have reigned one year and Muzaffar Shah 3 years, 5 months.

Ferishta says, Husain Shah died in 927 after a reign of 27 years. Riaz adds that the length of his reign is variously given as 24, 27 and 29 years, 5 months. Of the three statements, Stewart, Prinsep have taken the first (24 years from 903 to 927), Ferishta counts 27 years (900 to 927). The *Tabaqat* seems to take the last (29 years, 5 months), for, it says that Husain Shah died in 929 A. H. I do not know from which source the Riaz has taken 29 years, 5 months. Blochman further writes, "I have fixed 899 A. H. as the first year of his reign on the testimony of Marsden's coin (Marsden, p 576) and I extend it to the beginning of 929 A. H."

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[1] H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. II, p. 172, No. 188.

[2] M. R. Tarafdar, *Husain Shahi Bengal*, Dacca, 1965, p. 34.

[3] *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Translated by B. De), Vol. II, p. 270.

[4] *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (Translated by John Briggs), Vol. II, p. 301.

[5] *Riaz-us-Salatin* (Translated by A. Salam), Calcutta, 1910, pp. 128-129.

[6] "On a New King of Bengal", *JASB*, 1872, Part 1, pp. 331-340.

Hence, in view of the above facts, Husain Shah must have ascended the throne in 899 A. H. and not in 903 A. H. because the latest inscription of Muzaffar Shah is dated 898 A. H.[1] This 899 A. H. coin of Husain Shah could not have been a concurrent issue struck during the life-time of Muzaffar Shah, because Husain Shah was his Prime Minister and not his son.

The period of the reign of Husain Shah is also a complicated matter, the historians are not unanimous in their views, because neither the date of his death nor the date of the accession of his successor, Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah is definitely known.

The method of ascertaining the date of accession on the basis of numismatic and epigraphic evidence are sometimes not dependable. The reason is that a number of reigning Sultans in their life-time permitted their heir-apparent and other sons to strike coins in their own name with full regal title as if they were the reigning monarchs. This leads to confusion and anamoly in ascertaining the date. One such example of confusion is the case of Nusrat Shah who had the privilege of issuing his own coins as early as 918 A. H.[2] during the life-time of his father Husain Shah.

But it will be of interest to know that there is a coin in the present writer's collection which throws new light on the date of the nomination of Nusrat Shah. According to his coin Nusrat Shah was made the heir-apparent in the year 902 A. H. Hence, in this case the presence of the coin does not prove that Nusrat ascended the throne on that date (**Pl. VII. 6**).

The date of the death of Husain Shah has been fixed at 925 A.H because of the absence of any inscription after 925 A. H.; whereas the presence of coins of Nusrat Shah of 925 A. H.[1] leads to the conclusion that he ascended the throne in that year. Historian Gholam Husain Salim[2] writes, "Sultan Husain Shah in the year 927 A. H. died a natural death. His reign lasted 27 years and according to some 24 years and according to others 29 years, 5 months." Blochmann[3] quotes, "the Tabaqat says that Husain Shah died in 929 A. H." According to Ferishta[4], "this prince ruled with justice for a considerable longer period than any of his predecessors, until the year 930 A. H. when he died a natural death after a reign of 27 years."

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[1] H. Blochmann, *Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal*, (Reprint 1968, Calcutta), p. 86, Pl. 6, No. 2

[2] A. Karim, *Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal*, Dacca, 1960, p. 125.

The modern historians, H. N. Wright,[5] Lane Poole,[6] give the period of reign from 899 A. H. to 925 A. H., whereas Blochmann[7] gives the date from 899 A. H. to 929 A. H., and J. W. Laidlay[8] states that he died in 927 A. H. Writers like A. Karim[9] and M. R. Tarafdar[10] give the date from 899 A. H. to 925 A. H.

Recently, a coin or Husain Shah has come into my possession which clearly shows the date as 931 A. H. The coin has been cofirmed as genuine by the local experts.

The description of the coin is as follows :

Metal—Silver; Weight—11 gms; Size—25 mn;

Obverse : In double circle with dots in between

السلطان العاد(ل) علاء الدنیا و الدین ابو(ا) لمظفر

Reverse : In double circle with dots in between

حسین شاه سلطان بن سید اشرف الحسینی خلد ملکه خلد(ا) نه ۹۳۱ و(سلطانه)

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1. H. N. Wright, *IMC,* Vol. II, No. 202, p. 176.
2. *Riaz-us-Salatin*, pp. 134-135.
3. *JASB*, 1872, Part 1, pp. 331-340.
4. John Briggs, *History of the Rise of Mohammadan Power in India,* (Translated from the original Persian of Mohammad Kasim Ferishta), Vol. IV, 1829, p. 350.
5. *IMC*, Vol. II, p. 172.
6. *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Mohammadan States in the British Museum,* London, 1885, p. 144.
7. *JASB*, 1872, Part 1, pp. 331-340.
8. "On the Coins of the Independent Kings of Bengal", *JASB*, 1846, Vol XV. p. 332.
9. *Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal*, Dacca, 1960, p. 108.
10. *Husain Shahi Bengal,* Dacca, 1965, pp. 37-46.

(Lam (ل) in 'Adil', Alif (ا) in 'al-Muzaffar' at the obverse and Alif (ا) in 'Khazana' at the reverse have been omitted. A coin of Muzaffar Shah[1] has a similar defect where Alif (ا) of 'Khazana' is omitted). (**Pl. VII. 7**).

In view of the new date, the period of the reign of Husain Shah can now be established as extending from the earliest recorded date of 899/1493 to the date of the present find of 931/1524.

No inscription has been found which could extend the reign of Nusrat Shah beyond 938 A. H.[1] No coins of Nusrat of 938 A. H. are yet found, whereas there are two coins of Alauddin Firoz Shah, the son and successor of Nusrat Shah bearing the date 938 A. H.[2] which means the termination of Nusrat Shah's rule and accession of Firoz Shah in that year. Firoz Shah ruled less than a year from 938 A. H. to 939 A. H.[3] It is confirmed by numismatic, epigraphic[4] and historical[5] evidences. His successor, Ghiasuddin Mahmud Shah became the Sultan in 939 A. H. and died in 944 A. H.

Hence, the chronology of the reign of Husain Shah and his successors may now be established as follows :

1. Alauddin Husain Shah—899 A. H. to 931 A. H.
2. Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah—931 A. H. to 938 A. H.
3. Alauddin Firoz Shah—938 A. H. to 939 A. H.
4. Ghiasuddin Mahmud Shah—939 A. H. to 944 A. H.

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[1] *JASB*, 1874, p. 308; *E. I. Persian & Arabic Suppl.*, 1951-52, pp. 26-27, plate 9a, and 9b; A. H. Dani, *Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 72; S. Ahmed, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. IV, V. R. Museum, Rajshahi, pp. 229-32.

[2] Dacca Museum, quoted by M. R. Tarafdar, *Husain Shahi Bengal*, Dacca, 1965, p. 81.

[3] M. R. Tarafdar, *Husain Shahi Bengal*, Dacca, 1965, pp. 78-82.

[4] *JASB*, 1872, pp. 132 and 332; A. H. Dani, *Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 75; S. Ahmed, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, pp. 234-235.

[5] *Riaz-us-Salatin*, p. 137.

ON A COIN OF JOGEŚVARA SIMHA (1821-1825 A. D.)

JAI PRAKASH SINGH

I

An octagonal silver coin weighing 86.3 grains, measuring .6″ and inscribed in the Assamese Characters has been listed by B. B. Bidyabinod on p. 87 of his *Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I (Varanasi reprint, 1973).[1] It has been described by Bidyabinod thus :

Obverse : "Three-line legend, (*1*) *Śrī Śrī Jo*
(*2*) *laśvara Sim* (*3*) *ha nṛpasya.*

Reverse : (*1*) *Śrī Śri Ha* (*2*) *ra gauripa*
(*3*) *daparasya.*

The description is followed by a remark which states that "the name 'Jolaśvara' in the coin appears incorrectly spelt in place of correct name 'Jaleśvara,' a synonym of Kamaleśvara (lord of Kamala or Jala = water). Therefore this coin may be identified with that of Kamaleśvara Simha or Kinnaram, dated 1795-1810 A. D." Stylistically the coin is connected with the later Ahom coinage and cannot be associated with any other series. As Bidyabinod read the name of the issuer of this coin as Jolaśvara, he listed it under the sub-heading Jolaśvara Simha, in his King wise list of Assam Coins. But as no king of this name was known among the Ahom rulers of Assam he was forced to identify this supposedly new name with one of the already known kings of the dynasty. The knowledge of the Ahom king Kamaleṣvara Simha, who is known not only from Assamese Chronicles but also from his own coins afforded him an opportunity and a good one at that, to attempt an identification of Jolaśvara with Kamaleśvara. King Kamaleśvara Simha, however, is always mentioned only by this name and is not referred to anywhere as Jolaśvara or Jaleśvara Simha. Some of the Ahom kings are known to have issued coins with their Ahom name on the coins bearing Ahom legends and Hindu name on their Sankrit legend coins. But the practice of minting Ahom coins was altogether discontinued by later kings of the dynasty, even though they continued to have an Ahom name. The Ahom name of king Kamaleśvara was

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[1] The metal of the Coin indicated by Æ is perhaps a misprint. A sub-heading under Jolaśvara Simha refers to it as of silver; cf. *SCCIMC*, Vol. I, p. 87.

Shuhenphā. Besides, none of the Ahom rulers are known to have adopted two Hindu names after their accession. The usual practice among them was that they adopted a Hindu name at the time of their accession and it was this name that was preferred on their coins and other records in case of the later kings of the dynasty. The use of their original name was altogether discontinued after their assumption of Kingship. Under these circumstances the coin cannot be attributed to Kamleśvara Simha.

If the said coin really is not an issue of Kamaleśvara Simha then the question of its attribution arises as no king known as Jolaśvara is known to the history of Assam. The coin is not dated. Had it been dated the difficulty of its attribution could have been solved rather easily. We are of the view that the coin under discussion should be taken as an issue of king Jogeśvara Simha, the last coin-issuing king of Assam.[1] It is also possible to suggest that Bidyabinod was not familiar with king Jogeśvara Simha or his coins otherwise he himself may have read only this name on the coin concerned.

We feel that the letter *ge* of the legend was wrongly read by Bidyabinod as *la* and hence he thought that the name was incorrectly inscribed as Jolaśvara on this coin. We have to submit further in this connection that there are certain other coins also of this king whereon the letter *ge* gives the impression of being *la*, if not read carefully.[2] Therefore, the coin under discussion can plausibly be attributed to Jogeśvara Simha and not to Jolaśvara, Jaleśvara or Kamaleśvara Simha.

II

It will not be out of place to discuss in brief the history of Jogeśvara Simha. This king, Jogeśvara Simha was the son of Baga Kuanr of the Tungakhungia Royal family.[3] A sister of his was given in marriage to king Bodawpaya of Burma by king Chandrakānta Simha the predeccssor of Jogeśvara

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[1] The last King of Assam was Purandara Simha but his coins, if any, are not known so far.

[2] cf. The half-rupees of Jogeśvara illustrated by A. W. Botham (*CPCCA*, Pl. V. 13) and John Allan (*NC*, IX (1909), PL. XXV. 18) have a *ge* that looks like *la*. cf. also Stapleton, *NS*, XLVI, PL. V. 8.

[3] cf. *Ahom Buranji* (trs. by Golap Chandra Barua), pp. 383-84. H. E. Stapleton's (JASB, *NS*, XLVI, p. 132 N.) view that Jogeśvara was the scn of an Ava King by an Assamese wife is incorrect. cf. Also *Asamar Padya Buranji* (ed. S. K. Bhuyan),

Simha, on the throne of Assam, sometime during the first invasion of Assam by the Burmese. She was known as Hemo Aideo.[1]

The Burmese installed Jogeśvara Simha on the throne of Assam in November, 1821 A. D. after king Chandrakānta Simha escaped to Gauhati and then to Bengal.[2] Jogeśvara's installation was done to give the impression that the region was controlled still by the same line of Kings. This cover was needed probably to prevent the people of Assam from taking up arms against the Burmese rule in support of their king. King Jogeśvara, however, was only a puppet and the Burmese General wielded absolute power in all matters relating to

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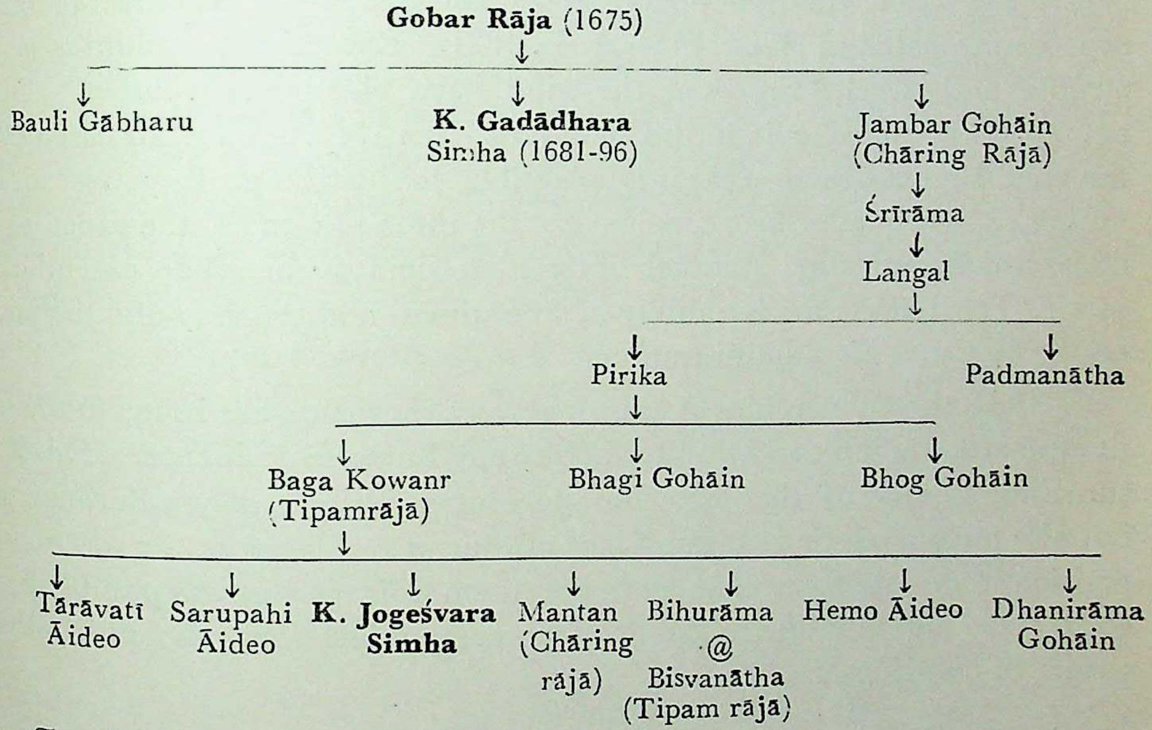
pp. 168 ff. The genealogy of Jogeśvara as given by S. K. Bhuyan (*Tungakhungia Buranji* (trs., Appendix I, C. p. 246) is as follows:


Gobar Rāja (1675)
Bauli Gābharu
K. Gadādhara Simha (1681-96)
Jambar Gohāin (Chāring Rājā)
Śrīrāma
Langal
Pirika
Padmanātha
Baga Kowanr (Tipamrājā)
Bhagi Gohāin
Bhog Gohāin
Tārāvatī Āideo
Sarupahi Āideo
K. Jogeśvara Simha
Mantan (Chāring rājā)
Bihurāma @ Bisvanātha (Tipam rājā)
Hemo Āideo
Dhanirāma Gohāin

[1] *Tungakhungia Buranji* (Trs. by S. K. Bhuyan), pp. 204, 207.

[2] Chandrakānta Simha was made king a second time by the Burmese after they wrested the region from Purandara Simha in 1819 A. D. But later when the main body of the Burmese Army returned home some of Chandrakānta's officers were killed by the Burmese left in Assam on the plea that they were sympathisers of the overthrown king Purandara Simha. Chandrakānta felt offended and asked the remaining Burmese army to return home too and made preparations to check further Burmese invasions on Assam. The Burmese were infuriated and invaded Assam again. Chandrakānta was defeated in 1821 and fled to Gauhati. Later after the installation of Jogeśvara, the Burmese marched towards Gauhati and king Chandrakānta was forced to take shelter in British Bengal. Here he made war preparations to fight the Burmese.

administration and war. It is said that this king was installed as the ruler of the region also with a view to enhance the prestige of the Assamese Queen of Burma.[1]

Not much is known about king Jogeśvara Simha and the part that he played in his rather eventful reign, as the Burmese General was the supreme authority in Assam during this period, and commanded nearly the whole of the Brahmaputra valley. Jogeśvara Simha is said to have died in 1825 A. D. at Jogighopa and the same year the Burmese were defeated by the British and Assam passed thus into the hands of the East India Company.

III

Coins of Jogeśvara Simha are all known in silver. Earlier only some half-rupees[2] and quarter-rupees[3] were known. Of these only the quarter-rupees were dated in *Śaka* 1743 = A. D. 1821. Recently, in addition to these, a rupee and two 1/8 rupees of the king have also been reported.[4] Of these new types the rupee coin is also dated in *Śaka* 1743. Since all dated coins of the king bear the same year it is plausible to hold that they were all issued during or shortly after his accession to the throne to meet the expenses of the consecration ceremony. Another interesting point is the crude execution of his specie. This reflects the instability of the times and possibly also the pressures on the king and his administration.

All the known coins of king Jogeśvara, however, are issued in the Ahom numismatic tradition and do not betray any Burmese influence. This is really surprising in view of the fact that Jogeśvara was not only a Burmese puppet but also a close relation of the King of Burma. Therefore, he was in a better position to initiate some changes in the Ahom Coinage but was possibly prevented to do so not only due to the political compulsions but also due to the brief nature of his Kingship.

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[1] *Tungakhungia Buranji* (Trs. by S. K. Bhuyan), p. 211.

[2] For half-rupees of Jogeśvara Simha see, A. W. Botham, *CPCCA*, 1930, p. 523. PL. V. 13; Allan, *NC*, IX (1909), p. 30, PL. XXV. 18; H. E. Stapleton, *NS*, XLVI, p. 132 N.

[3] For quarter-rupees of this King see, H. E. Stapleton, *NS*, XLVI, p. 132 N., PL. V. 8. Allan, *N.C.*, 1937, p. 305 refers to the coin of Jogeśvara Simha published by him in *N.C.*, 1909, as a quarter-rupee. This is perhaps a mistake as the weight, size and legends all seem to suggest its being a half-rupee.

[4] cf. Vasanta Chowdhury and Parimal Ray, The Coins of Jogeśvara Simha of Assam, in *Coinage and Economy of North Eastern India*. They have published a rupee, a half-rupee, a quarter-rupee and two 1/8 rupees. All of these are illustrated, but only one of tne 1/8 rupees.

MISCELLANEA

1

A PUNCH MARKED SILVER COIN FROM KAKARAHAṬĀ IN JABALPUR DISTRICT

(**Pl. X**)

Kakarahaṭā is a small village in the Sihora tahsil of the Jabalpur district in Madhya Pradesh. It is very near to Rūpnath which is known for its Aśokan rock-edict. The Village of Kakarahaṭā itself appears to be a Mauryan site and is full of N. B. P. Ware. During our explorations in 1976, the silver punch marked coin, published here was found on surface. It is now deposited in the Rani Durgavati Museum at Jabalpur (Acc. No. 566).

The coin is oblong in shape and measures 1.87 × 1.3 cms. Its weight is 2.640 gms. It belongs to Allan's class 6 (IV) (a) having five symbols on the obverse. The reverse is however, blank. (**Pl. X. 1**).

BALCHANDRA JAIN

2

TWO SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

(Pl. X)

I

Two silver punch-marked coins, one round and the other rectangular, datable to *c.* fourth-fifth century B. C. are preserved in the cabinet of Prof. K. B. Tewari of Hoshangabad. We are grateful to him for permitting us to publish them.

The coin may be described as follows :

Metal : silver; size 2.4 cms; shape: roundish;

Weight : 3.0 gms (43.2 grs).

Obv. : (1) Sun, punched twice, lower portions of both these symbols are cut off. The rays of one sun symbol are thick than the other. Thick rays are ten and the thin rays are twelve in number.

(2) Shaḍarachakra—4 arrows and two taurines.

(2) A big tortoise.

(4) Tree with five branches.

(5) Besides, there are some minute symbols, such as five dots, a small tortoise etc.

Rev. : Blank

(Pl. X. 3)

II

The other silver punch marked coin may be described as follows :

Metal : Silver; Size : 2.5 cms; Shape : Squarish;

Weight : 3.2 gms (46.8 grs).

Obv. : (1) Sun with sixteen rays, (2) half-shaḍarachakra, (3) another round symbol wlth smaller circles at the four corners, (4) tortoise.

Besides there are some minute symbols also punched on this side.

Rev. : Blank.

(Pl. X. 2)

We hope that some other scholars may be in a position to explain these coins.

HALDHAR PATHAK
AND
ALKA TIWARI

3

THE "ABHISHEKA OF LAKSHMĪ" MOTIF ON COINS OF THE MITRA RULERS OF MATHURA

(**Pl. X**)

It is generally believed by scholars that the motif showing "a goddess being consecrated by two elephants from two sides" (*Abhisheka of Lakshmī* or *Gaja-Lakshmī*) appeared for the first time on the local coins of Mathura in the days of the Satrapal ruler Rājubula. We have now evidence to show that this motif might have appeared on coins of Mathura in a still earlier period.

A square copper coin in the British Museum bears crude representations of three elephants with riders holding goads. While the elephant in the centre faces to front, the two others, flanking it, stand three-quarters to left. On the other side of the coin appears a standing female figure, holding a lotus in her half-raised right hand. There is a thick cover on her head. On right (or on the left of the goddess) we can notice an elephant, in a half-seated position. It faces her with its trunk upraised. The elephant is obviously consecrating her. The position of the figure on the left (or on the right of the deity) is not clear. But the evidence of the appearance of the elephant with a posture of consecrating the goddess clearly shows that the die-engraver concerned intended to portray the "*abhisheka of Lakshmī*" motif on the piece concerned[1] [**Pl. X. 4** and **Pl. X. 4 A** enlarged].

A few symbols occur on the same side which bears the figure of the deity. Of these, the one, which appears above the head of the elephant, may be recognised as a taurine symbol.[2]

The legend in Brāhmī, which appears on the side bearing the representation of the deity in question, may be read as *Gomitasa*[3] (**Pl. X. 4**).

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[1] J. Allan published the coin under discussion. But he did not realise its importance (J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, p. 170, no. 10; Pl. XXV, no. 1). Perhaps the same was published in E. J. Rapson (editor), *The Cambridge History of India*, I, Pl. V, no. 5.

[2] J. Allan, op. cit., Pl. XXV, no. 1.

[3] Ibid.

J. Allan identified this ruler as Gomitra II.[1] Whether such an identification is acceptable or not, there is no doubt that rulers with their names ending in *mitra* controlled Mathura in a period earlier than the Satrapal family of Rājubula, (the rule of which can be dated roughly to the last decades of 1st century B. C. and first quarter of the 1st century A. D.).[2] So Gomitra in question should be placed earlier than Rājubula.

If "the abhisheka of Lakshmī" motif is now considered to have appeared in a coin-type of above mentioned Gomitra, it must have been known to the mint of Mathura prior to the conquest of the area concerned by Rājubula.

The above view was expressed by the present writer in a seminar recently held (from October 24 to 26, 1977) at the National Museum, New Delhi. Prof. Haertel, in supporting this view, referred to two very small copper coins, found at Sonkh. These bear on one side a horse standing to right. The other side displays the "abhisheka of Lakshmī" motif, as on the Kshatrapa coins of Mathura. The legend on this side can be read as *Suyamitasa.* Haertel identifies Suyamita with Suryamitra of Mathura.

Thus we have now enough evidence to revise our present idea about the date of the first appearance of the "abhisheka of Lakshmī" motif on the local coins of Mathura. It began to appear for the first time on the Mathuran coins during the period of the Mitras.

B. N. MUKHERJEE

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[1] Ibid., p. 170.

[2] B. N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source—A Study in Indo—Parthian History*, p. 253; H. Haertel, "Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh, A Preliminary Report" (*German Scholars on India,* II, p. 83).

4

COINS OF SENA DYNASTY FROM TRIPURI

(Pl. X)

While examining the coins of the Bodhi dynasty from Tripuri in my collection, I came across a few coins which resembled Bodhi coins in fabric, denomination and symbols. When I began deciphering the legend, I found that the names were completely different and they ended in *Sena*. Thus a line of rulers, hitherto unknown, is located in the Tripuri area.

The present coins are the only ones, so far brought to light. They are described as follows :

(1)

Lead, Round, Diam. 1.1 c.m.; weight 8 grains.

Obverse : Three-arched hill with a crescent. There are two vertical wavy lines on the sides. Legend in Brāhmī characters of 3rd century A. D. *Sudarasenasa.*

Reverse : Tree in railing, figure of a man standing on the left side. **(Pl. X. 5)**

(2)

Lead, Round, Diam. 1.2 c.m. × 1 c.m.; weight 8 grains.

Obverse : Three-arched hill surmounted by a crescent, two vertical wavy lines on the sides, legend same.

Reverse : Man standing with outstretched arms, on his right a tree in railing. **(Pl. X. 6)**

(3)

Lead, Round, Diam. 1 c.m. ×.9 c.m.; weight 6 grains.

Obverse : Three-arched hill, surmounted by a crescent, two vertical wavy lines on the sides. Legend—*Senasa*; It appears that the entire legend was not covered by the die.

Reverse : Man standing with outstretched arms and on his right a tree in railing. **(Pl. X. 7)**

(4)

Lead, Round, Diam. 1.3 c. m. × 1.2 c. m.; weight 12 grains.

Obverse : Three-arched hill, surmounted by a crescent, two vertical wavy lines on the sides. Legend—*Sudar...nasa-*

Reverse : Traces of man standing. **(Pl. X. 8)**

(5)

Lead, Round, Diam. 1.4 c. m. × 1.2 c. m.; weight 15 grains.

Obverse : Three-arched hill surmounted by a crescent, two vertical wavy lines on the sides. Legend—*Suda...sa.*

Reverse : Two horizontal wavy lines and on the corner a man standing as if in the act of walking. **(Pl. X. 9)**

(6)

Lead, Round, Diam. 1.1 c. m. × 1.1 c. m.; weight 10 grains.

Obverse : Three-arched hill, surmounted by a crescent and two vertical wavy lines on the sides. Legend—*Sudarasenasa.*

Reverse : A sapling. **(Pl. X. 10)**

(7)

Lead, Round, Diam, 1.2 c. m.; weight 8 grains.

Obverse : Three-arched hill, surmounted by a crescent, two vertical wavy lines on the sides. Legend—*Senasa.*

Reverse : Man standing. **(Pl. X. 11)**

(8)

Lead, Oval, Diam. 1.2 c. m. × 1.1 c. m; weight 8 grains.

Obverse : Three-arched hill, surmounted by a crescent, two vertical wavy lines on the sides. Legend—*Sudarasenasa* **(Pl. X. 12)**

Reverse : Tree in railing, only half figure of a man standing on the left side appears on the coin.

It seems that the die has not covered the entire coin and portions of it have been cut out on the sides on the obverse.

(9)

Lead, Round, Diam. 1.1 c. m. × 1 c. m.; weight 8 grains.

Obverse : Crescent topped three arched hill, with vertical wavy lines on the sides. Legend—*Sudarasenasa*

Reverse : Figure of man with outstretched arms. (**Pl. X. 13**)
This coin is nipped on the sides.

(10)

Lead, Round, Diam, 1 c. m.; weight 10 grains.

Obverse : Crescent-topped three arched hill with two vertical wavy lines on the sides. Legend—*Sudarasenasa*.

Reverse : A sapling. (**Pl. X. 14**)

The Legend on these coins may be reconstructed as *Sudarasena* or *Sundarasena* which is palaeographicaly assignable to the beginning of the 4th century A. D. Sunderasena may have been a scion of some local dynasty, ruling at Tripuri. *Sudarśanasya* merely denotes that the coin belongs to one Sudarśana. He does not seem to belong to the merchants' guild as *Dhamapala* of Eran.

The discovery of a stray coin might have been considered as casual, but as many as ten coins are published here and a few more are being cleaned. This goes to prove that the Senas may have formed a local dynasty.

Nothing more is known about them except that their coins have been discovered from Tripuri along with the coins of the Bodhis. Two more rulers whose names end in *Sena* have been brought to light as a result of the excavations conducted by the Sagar University; one is a copper coin of king Sujyeshṭhasena and the other is a clay sealing of Mahāsena. The coin of Sujyeshṭhasena was discovered in 1967-68 from the Sātavāhana stratum i. e., Stratum 3 and his period would be about hundred years before the Senas whose coins are published here.

The clay sealing of Mahāsena was picked up in 1968-69 and it coincides with the period of my coins under discussion. This sealing has a bull symbol with a hill surmounted by two crescents. The legend *Siṁhasena Pautra Vitilaya Skandasya Putrasya Mahāsenasya* brings forth an entirely new ruler who was uptill now unknown The absence of a royal title in my coins and in this sealing raises one suspiscion, that they might not be rulers at all. But the number of coins discovered along with the coins of the Bodhis is a very strong ground for recognising them as local chiefs, who issued coinage in imitation of the Bodhis. According to K. D. Bajpai, 'these newly discovered kings of the Bodhi dynasty, ruled in this area during the 2nd and 3rd century A. D. After their rule the area passes under the suzerainty of the Gupta emporors.' But this view does not seem tenable and there may be a few local dynasties who held sway over this area for some time till this area became a part of Gupta empire.

M. C. CHOUBEY

5

A HOARD OF KUSHĀṆA GOLD COINS FROM RAJASTHAN

(Pl. XI)

A hoard of 10 gold coins of the later Kushāṇa rulers was found on the hill top of the village Dada Fethpura, tehsil Khetri of Jhunjhunu district in the year 1975, by some children who were playing on the hill. After finding the coins the children informed their parents. Thus they distributed this hoard amongst themselves and tried to conceal this precious find, but some how the secret leaked out and the matter was taken up by the court of law at Khetri (Sub-divisional Magistrate office, Khetri). The S. D. M., Khetri office, reported only 10 gold coins to us, but it can easily be presumed that the hoard must have consisted of a larger number of coins than actually recovered, as it is likely that some of the specimens were lost before their acquisition by S. D. M., Khetri.

The find is significant, because for the first time Kushāna gold coins as treasure trove in Rajasthan have been found. Prior to it only Kushāna copper coins were known. The find is interesting, as it throws considerable light on a number of knotty problems connected with the numismatic and political history of the Kushāṇas. These coins may be described as follows:

King standing in profile, sacrificing at the altar, holding a trident. Legend in modified Greek script PAONANO PAO KOPANO. Out of ten coins, on two, armed Śiva is standing, holding noose and trident. Behind him is a standing bull and the legend is OHPO. On the reverse of the remaining coins the goddess is seated on a high backed throne. In the front she is holding cornucopiae in the left hand and noose in the right, the legend being APΔOXPO. (Pl. XI. 1-2)

PREMLATA POKHARNA

6

TWO ANCIENT COINS

(Pl. XI, XIII)

I

(Nameless King Soter Megas)

A unique bronze coin of the nameless king Soter Megas was purchased from Mathura. Numerous copper and billon coins of this king were found from Kabul, Punjab, South-East Punjab and Mathura. The speciality of the present coin is that it is of yellow bronze, though in respect of other particulars it is similar to copper coins. The description is as follows :

Wt. 115 grammes; Size 19.5 mm.

Obv. : Bust of the king with helmet (?) within dotted border, holding indistinct object in one hand. Three-pronged symbol behind the head is obliterated.

Rev. : King on horseback to right, holding a whip (?) in his right hand. Three-pronged symbol in front of the horse. Legend is badly preserved.

The coin is important and unique due to its metal because for the first time a coin of Soter Megas is found in this metal.

II

(Chandela Coin)

Metal—Base Gold; Shape—round; Wt. 3.8 gms. (54.72 gm.).

Obv. : Inside a dotted circle legend in two lines.

(1) *Shrimat*

(2) *Deva varma.* (**Pl. XI. 3**)

Rev. : Seated Goddess, ruder type, like Kalachuri Coins.

This coin is a rare coin. It is said that a silver coin was exhibited at the Numismatic Confrence at Indore in 1975. Before this the Numismatists were of opinion that Chandela Coinage started with Kirtivarman. Hence this coin is of special intrest because it is the first coin of King Devavarman (1050-1117 A. D. in yellow metal (base gold).

H. PATHAK AND K. B. TIWARI

7

A COPPER COIN FROM SANCHI

A few years ago Professor K. D. Bajpai published a copper coin from Sanchi in the present *Journal.*[1] It is palaeographically datable to the 5th century A. D.[2] The coin is described below:

Obverse : Brāhmī legend in two horizonal lines--
Jitaṁ Bhagavatā Padmanābhena (victorious is the lord Padmanābha (Vishṇu).

Reverse : Figure of a tree.[3]

The legend on the obverse does not disclose the name of the issuer. Professor Bajpai thinks that 'The only conjecture which seems to be plausible in this connection is that this coin was issued by Chandragupta II Vikramāditya after his victory over eastern Malwa........Being a *Paramabhāgavata*, he probably tried to avoid his own name on the coin and attributed his great victory over the formidable 'Śakas to Padmanābha Vishṇu'.[4]

The coin under discussion perhaps adds a new personality in the list of helpers of Chandragupta II in the campaign against the Śakas, though it does not disclose his name who had staunch belief in *bhagavān Padmanābha*. Having established the banner of the victory he issued the coin.[5] in the name of his patron deity *i. e.* Padmanābha. Nisar Ahmad[6] and J. P. Singh[7] have already raised certain objections against the views of K. D. Bajpai. However, another suggestion regarding the issuer of the copper piece may be advanced. In my humble opinion the coin was not issued by Chandragupta II as Bajpai has surmised but its issuer was probably one of the feudatories of the Gupta monarch. This feudatory, as a token of gratitude expressed to god Padmanābha, issued the piece in the name of his favourite diety.[1] In ancient India some tribes such as the Kuṇindas, the Yaudheyas and the Audumbars issued coins in the name of their presiding deities.[2] Here it may be surmised that the present piece may be attributed to the Sanakānīkas, most probably a tribal people like them.[3] And perhaps their chief, a *Mahārāja*, who is known from the Udaigiri inscription of the Gupta year 82 and who launched the campaign against the Śakas to liberate Malwa, issued this copper coin in the name of god Padmanābha.

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[1] *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXXIII, pt. I., pp. 120-121.

[2] 'The script on the coin is early Gupta of Central India resembling the characters of the Sanchi inscription of Chandragupta II. Ibid., p. 120.

[3] Ibid., p. 120, According to Bajpai it is the 'figure of *Kalpavṛiksha*.

[4] Ibid., p. 121.

[5] There is a controversy among the numismatists with regard to the nature of this metallic piece. K. D. Bajpai surmises that the coin under discussion represents a 'token, and not a coin' *JNSI*, XXXIII, pt. I., p. 121. Jai Prakash Singh is of the opinion that it is not a coin struck by Chandragupta II but a medal issued by some temple of the God in whose name it was manufactured', ibid., XXXIV, Pt. II, p. 257.

[6] Ibid., XXXIII, Pt. I., p. 122, fn. 1.

[7] Ibid., XXXIV, Pt. II, p. 254.

Further the suggestion of Bajpai that Chandragupta II 'tried to avoid his own name on the coin also seems to be improbable because in the history of the Gupta numismatics we do not find such a case. Gupta coins record either the name or the *biruda* of the ruler. But this feature is conspicuous by its absence on the coin under discussion. Though the Guptas were followers of Vaishṇavism, it was not exclusively proferssed by them. Therefore, the coin having this Vaishṇava legend may not necessarily be taken as an issue of Chandragupta II.

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1. Brāhmī legend *Jitaṁ bhagavatā Padmanābhena* occurring on the obverse of the copper coin may be compared with similar legends found on the clay seals *i.e. jitaṁ bhagavatā Vāsudevena, Śrī jitam bhagavatā svāmi Nārāyaṇena* etc. Further the expression *jitam bhagavatā ghana gaganābhena* occurs in the Penukonda Copper Plate Inscription of Mādhava (Sircar, *SI*, p. 480). For details see K. K. Thaplyal, *Studies In Ancient Indian Seals*, p. 164.
2. (a) Kuṇindas—*Bhāgavata (ḥ) Chhatreśvara mahātmanaḥ*, see Allan, J., *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum*, Ancient India, p. 167; Pl. XXIII. 12, Dasgupta, K.K., *A Tribal History of Ancient India : A Numismatic Approach*, pp. 93-94, Pl. III, CN. 22-57.
   (b) Yaudheyas—(i) *Bhāgavataḥ Svāmino Brahmaṇyasya,* see Allan, op. cit. p. 270, Pl. XXXIX. 21; Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 203, Pl. VI. CN 112; J. N. Banerjea has slightly amended the reading, *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 160 f.
   (ii) *Bhāgavataḥ Svāmino Brahmaṇya devasya Kumārasya* or *Kumārasa*, see Allan, op. cit., pp. 270 f; Dasgupta, op. cit. pp. 203 ff.
   (c) Audumbaras—*Bhagavata Mahadevasa rajaraña*, See Allan, op. cit., p. 123, Pl. XIV. 16-17; Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 46, Pl. I, CN 23.
3. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Musenm* (Gupta dynasties).

As far as the size and the weight of the copper coin are concerned, it is true that they may be compared with the copper coins of Chandragupta II published by Allan,[10] Altekar[1] and K. D. Bajpai.[2] However, it appears that Sanakānika Mahārāja followed the size and weight of the copper currency of his overlord. The copper piece, in all probability, seems to be a token[3] issued by a chief of the Sanakānīka tribe in commemoration of the victory over the Śakas.

On the basis of the above discussion the following conclusions may be drawn :

(a) The copper piece was issued by a Chief of the Sanakānika tribe.

(b) It was issued on the model of the copper coins of Chandragupta II.

(c) It was a token issued by the Sanakānīka Mahārāja in honour of the god Padmanābhà.

(d) Though it is not a coin, it shows that like some other tribes of ancient India—the Kuṇindas, the Yaudheyas, the Audumbaras—the leader of the Sanakānīka tribe after overthrowing the foreigners issued the metallic piece in the name of his presiding deity.

OM PRAKASH SINGH

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[1] Altekar, *Corpus of the Gupta Coinage*, pp. 155 ff, Pl. XV. I.

[2] *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, III, Pt. II, pp. 192-194.

[3] Altekar has suggested that 'the Sanakānīkas of Central India probably issued no coins, as coinage was not common in their territory', *The Vakātaka Gupta Age*, edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, p. 299.

8

SOME TERRACOTTA SEALINGS FROM SARNATH

(Pls. XI-XII)

Among the inscribed objects discovered at Sarnath the terracotta sealings easily out number the others, but only a few have been published or illustrated so far. Recently I obtained four terracotta sealings from the local people. While three of them are votive in character, the fourth one is of a different variety.[1]

1. The first sealing is a roughly circular tablet of well-baked clay measuring 24 mm. in diameter. The stamped surface, which is oval, is 15 mm. at its widest; the maximum thickness is 10 mm., only. The raised rim is mostly damaged; the semi-circular back bears a thumb-imprint. The text in Nāgarī characters of about the 10th-11th century is neatly impressed in five lines within a circle.

1. ye dharmā hetu prabha
2. vā hetuṁ teshāṁ tāthāgato
8. hy = avadata teshāṁ cha yo ni
4. rodha evaṁ vādī mahā-
5. śramaṇaḥ[2] **(Pl. XI. 4)**

From I-tsing we learn that in his time it was a common practice in India to inscribe the creed or *Gāthā* of the chain of causation on images and *chaityas*. He gives the following rendering of the creed :

"All things arise from a cause.
The Tathāgata has explained the cause.
Thus cause of things have been finally destroyed;
Such is the teachings of the Great Śramaṇa the (Buddha)."[3]

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[1] Briefly reported in *Indian Archaeology*, 1975-76—*A Review*.

[2] This text is common to the first three sealings described here.

[3] It-sing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* (Trs. by Takakusu), p. 5.

These little tablets must have been originally inserted at the base of miniature clay *stūpas*, called *dharmaśarīras*,[1] which were made in India in abundance right from the time of Hiuen Tsang.[2] They were also frequently built into larger brick *stūpas* as is shown by the fact that the core of *stūpa* no. 40, to the north-east of the Main Shrine at Sarnath, mainly consisted of the *stūpas* of unbaked clay.[3] They were also probably carried by the pilgrims to their homes as mementos of their visit to this sacred site.[4]

2. The second sealing is a roughly oval tablet of half-baked clay measuring 19 mm. in length and 17 mm. in breadth. The stamped surface which is also oval, measures 14 mm. in length and 12 mm. in width: the maximum thickness being 7 mm. The semi-circular back bears thumb-imprint. The Buddhist creed in Nāgarī characters of the 11th-12th century is minutely impressed in five lines. **(Pl. XI. 5)**

3. The third sealing is a roughly circular tablet of baked clay measuring 22 mm. in diameter. The circular stamped surface measures 20 mm; the maximum thickness being 6 mm. The semi-circular back which is slightly damaged bears thumb-imprint. The Buddhist creed in Nāgarī characters of about 12th century is impressed in five lines within a circle. The letters are of slightly cursive variety and a little blurred, too. **(Pl. XII. 1)**

4. The fourth and the last sealing is a roughly oval tablet of well-baked clay measuring 43 mm. in length and 32 mm. in breadth. The inscribed surface, which is again oval, measures 38 mm. in length, and 29 mm. in breadth. The maximum thickness of the piece is 15 mm.

The inscribed surface is divided into two halves by double straight lines across the middle. The upper half is occupied by a wheel with a deer couchant on either side, which is the symbol of the first sermon of the Buddha at the Deer Park. The deer face towards the wheel as is generally the case.

The lower half contains a legend of two lines in post-Gupta characters of about the 7th-8th century. While the first line has six letters, the second one has four only. The first line reads; *Śrī saddharmma chak(kr)e*. The last letter

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[1] D. R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath* (Calcutta, 1914), p. 309.

[2] Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London, 1884), II, p. 146.

[3] *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Reports, (henceforth *ASIAR*), 1906-7, p. 80 seq.

[4] Sahni, op. cit., p. 308.

(a conjunct) is partly damaged. Although, it is extremely difficult to satisfactorily read the next line, which is partly out of flan and damaged also, but on the analogy of similar other sealings recovered from Sarnath, we may read it : *Bhikhu saṁghasya.*[1] Thus the whole legend may be translated as below :

"Of the community of the friars of the illustrious Dharmachakra"

(Pl. XII.2)

We know that *Dharmachakra* or *Śri-saddharmachakrā* was the general name of the convent of the Deer Park which continued down to the times of king Govindachandra (A. D. 1114-1154) of the Gahaḍwāla dynasty.

One similar sealing belonging to the congregation of monks of the Deer-Park was discovered by F. O. Oertel while clearing debris for the extension of the old sculpture shed at Sarnath. Unfortunately the edge of that sealing is much worn out and the legend partly lost, whilst the remaining portion is far from distinct. The characters seem to be of the fifth or sixth century.[2] It is noteworthy that the legend : *Śrī saddharmma (cha) kk (r)e* also occurs on the clay sealing found by Professor Hall in the course of his excavations. It was published by Cunningham, but he failed to read the second line.[3] Subsequently Sten Konow[4] and Sahni[5] read it as follows : *mūlagandhakuṭyāṁ Bhagavatāḥ*, and dated the characters as belonging to the 6th or 7th century. While the dating of the characters as proposed by Sten Konow and Sahni may be correct, their reading needs further verification. Several such seals have been discovered to the west of the Main Shrine at Sarnath.[6] Two sealings from Rajghat bearing the wheel and deer symbol and the legend : *Śrī-dharmachakre*[7] or *Saddharmachakre,*[8] probably, also belonged to the monastery of Sarnath.[9]

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[1] The reading of the second line is purely tentative, because excepting the conjunct letter *sya*, the remaining legend is not legible. Moreover, there are traces of an additional letter after the aforesaid conjunct.

[2] *ASIAR.*, 1904-5, p. 91.

[3] A. Cunningham, *ASIR*, I, p. 129, Pl. XXXIV.

[4] *ASIAR*, 1906-7, p. 97.

[5] Sahni, op. cit., p. 308.

[6] *ASIAR*, 1906-7, pp. 75 & 97.

[7] *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXIII, p. 409.

[8] Allahabad Museum, no. 58.

[9] K. K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals* (Lucknow, 1972) p. 209.

Our sealing, however, differs from similar other sealings mainly in respect that besides bearing several finger-prints, its back also shows two impressions of a cord of smooth fabric, which may suggest that it was attached to a letter or parcel. But it is difficult to accept this explanation as the sealing is well-baked. Normally sealings attached to a letter or parcel are of unburnt or half-burnt clay. We may, therefore, conclude that our sealing served some purpose other than a sealing connected with an ordinary letter or parcel, which at present is difficult to ascertain.[1]

KRISHNA KUMAR

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[1] For the first three sealings I am grateful to Shri Lallan, a resident of village Ganj, and for the last one to Shri Nehru Lal, another resident of the same village. The enlarged photographs of the sealings are published here by courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Ramnagar, Varanasi. I am grateful to Dr. Maheshwari Prasad, Dr. P. K. Agrawala and Dr. D. B. Pandey for going through this paper.

9

INDO-SASSANIAN COINS FROM JABALPUR DISTRICT

(Pls. XIII-XIV)

A big hoard of 784 silver coins of the Indo-sassanian type has been added to the coin collection of the Rani Durgavati Museum of Jabalpur (Acc. Nos 568-1351).

The exact findspot of the hoard is not known but the same is said to have come from Bahoriband area in the Sihora tahsil of the Jabalpur District. Bahoriband is famous for the colossal statue of Śānṭinātha consecrated during the victorious reign of Gayākarṇa, while the Mahāsāmantādhipati Golhaṇadeva of the Rāshṭrakūta family was flourishing.

The coins are round in shape. The obverse has a rude head of the king to right with a Nāgarī letter which is read as *śri* and sometimes as *ha*. On the reverse of the coins, a rude figure of fire-Altar is represented.

(Pls. XIII. 11-13, XIV. 1-3)

BALCHANDRA JAIN

10

KALACHURI COINS OF KRISHNA RAJA

(Pl. XII)

These coins are published in many Journals but I feel this coin is of a type which is complete in all respects.

Metal Silver, Wt. 29.16, Irregular circular shape, Size 1.15 cm. and one corner is 1.3 cm.

Obv. : Head of the King to right and traces of collar.

Rev. : Inside a circle of dots along the periphery the legend beginning at III not XII (*JNSI*, 1960, p. 193).

Paramamāheśvera Mātāpitripādānudhyāta Śrī Krishṇarāja (**PL. XII. 3-4**)

In the centre a couchant bull is sitting facing right, below three dots and two dots between.

Earlier scholars[1] who published coins of this king could not read its legend correctly. The credit for a correct decipherment of this legend goes to V. V. Mirashi. Some of the coins published earlier also do not contain the complete legend. Our coin has the full legend.

There is no doubt that the head of the King is depicted in the style of Western Kshatrapa portraits and the Nandi facing right is found only on the coins of Skandagupta and Krishnarāja.

The Chief interest of the coins of Krishnarāja lies in the personal epithet of the King. Kalachuri Krishnarāja dropped the patronymic and royal titles and instead adopted an expression that is not met with anywhere in Indian numismatics.

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[1] *JBBRAS*, XII, 1876; *ASIR*, IX, p. 30; *IA*, XIV, 1885, p. 68; *JRAS*, XXI, 1889, p. 138. *Indian Coins*, 1898, p. 27, Plate IV. 17; *JNSI*, XIV, 1954, Part I, p. 107; *JNSI*, XXV, 1963, pp. 244-45; *JNSI*, 1960, XXII, p. 193; *JBBRAS*, XIX, 1876, pp. 213-14.

Such titles are, however, found on the copper plates of Dharasena and Vyāghrasena of the Traikuṭaka family. In their records Sankaragaṇa and Buddharāja Krishṇarāja also use the same epithet. The same title can be traced in the Copper plate of Mangaleśa. Like the title Paramabhāgavata of the Guptas, the Kalachuris adopted the title of Paramamāheśvara but the distinguishing title *Mātāpitṛipādāundhyāta* renders the Kalachuri coins unique in the field of Indian numimastics.

HALDHAR PATHAK

11

A NEW HOARD OF GOLD COINS OF GANGEYADEVA

(Pl. XII)

A new hoard of the gold coins of the Kalachuri ruler, Gāṅgeyadeva (*c.* A. D. 1015-1040) has been discovered from village Jaragawān, P. S. Raipurā in the Panna district of Madhya Pradesh. The coins were found by some villagers at a small mound of that village in the rainy season of 1975. They are now in deposit in the Rani Durgavati Museum of Jabalpur.

The hoard consists of twenty-two coins (Museum Reg. No. 473-494) of which ten are in mint-fresh condition. The other ten are worn out. Remaining two coins are somewhat smaller in size and also appear to be made of base gold.

On their obverse, the coins have, inside a circle of dots the name of the king as *Śrīmad·Gāṅgeyadevaḥ* in three lines, while on reverse they show inside the circle of dots, the figure of four armed Lakshmī, nimbate, sitting cross-legged with lotuses in her two upper hands and the remaining two hands spread out at her sides. The figure of the goddess is artistic and beautifully carved.

The weight of these coins is near about four grams each. They measure from 1.92 cm. to 2.05 cm.

As shown above the name of the king, ends in nominative.[1] The *visarga* following the name of Gāngeyadeva is again followed by a cricle flanked by two *daṇḍas* on either side. This arrangement is very clear on two coins (Nos. 489 and 494).

A new variety has also been noticed in this hoard. On one coin (No. 486), the *deva* part of the legend is seen in the second line itself, while on all the hitherto published gold coins of the King, the letter *va* of the *deva* was always seen in the third line and not in the second. **(Pl. XII. 10-15)**

The coins of Gāngeyadeva are known from the districts of Uttar Pradesh. In Madhya Pradesh, they are known from Isurpur[2] in Sagar district, Tewar,[3] Barela[4] and Karitalai[5] in Jabalpur district and Sonsari in Bilaspur district.

BALCHANDRA JAIN

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[1] This is not the case with the coins of the Chandellas and those of the Kalachuri Kings of South Kosala.

[2] *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XVII, article No. 101.

[3] *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (henceforth *JNSI*), XIX, p. 74.

[4] Ibid., XVIII, pp. 110-111.

[5] These are in the collection of the M. G. M. Museum, Raipur, but are not published.

12

A NEW JEWELLERY TOKEN

(Pl. XIII)

In this note we describe a gold token now in the possession of Shri B. P. Singh.[1] The token has the following particulars.

Metal-Gold; Shape-Round; Weight-12.0939 grams; Diameter-2.0223 cm.; Thickness-0.1410 cm.

Obverse : Cinquefoil mint mark to left.
Legend in Persian

1. *Sikka Mowafiq-i-Murshidabad*
   (Coin similar to those of mint Murshidabad)
2. *Pyarelal Sarraf Register*
   (Struck by Pyarelal Sarraf, Registered)
3. *Tajir-i-Ziwarat*
   (Dealer in Ornaments).

Reverse : Legend in Persian.

1. *San 19 Julus Maimanat Manus*
   (Year 19 of accession (to the throne) associated with prosperity)
2. *Zarb-i-Shahar Dehli.*
   (Mint of Delhi city). **(Pl. XIII. 3)**

This token does not bear the name of any ruler. It resembles to a great extent the coins of Shah Alam. Similar tokens struck by private firms or jewellers, have been earlier reported by C. H. Biddulph[2] and J. S. Deyell.[3] The token described here resembles Biddulph's coin No. 1, which is of silver. Both pieces are circular and the legends too are in the same style. Both have been minted at Delhi, have the cinquefoil mint marks, and bear the name of a jeweller.

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[1] I am thankful to Shri B. P. Singh, for permitting me to publish this token. I am also thankful to my teacher Dr. Nisar Ahmad who has kindly read the legend of the token for me.

[2] *JNSI.*, XXI, Pt. II, pp. 176-178.

[3] *JNSI.*, XXXVI, pp. 154-155.

Biddulph in his article[1] has indicated that during the rule of East India Company it was a practice to undertake minting of private tokens in compliance with the request from bankers or jewellers.

It may be said that this token has also been minted at Delhi probably in a government mint at the request of Pyarelal Sarraf who must have been one of the famous licensed jewellers of his time.

Regarding the use of such tokens Biddulph has suggested that[2] "they were originally intended for use as ornaments in jewellery and in certain circumstances they were used as coins along with the local rupees of the period."

Hurmuz Kaus is of the view that "these coins more correctly tokens were struck by private firms and individuals to serve as advertisment, and nothing more or less. Since they appear like coins there is a possibility that they may have been used as legal tender by ignorant people, who could not read the legend."[3]

If these tokens were actually used for advertisement, then the question arises as to how they came into circulation. The only possibility is that they were either used as jewellery or as legal tender. This token which is more or less in mint condition is lighter than even a worn out coin of Shah Alam. It may be concluded therefore that this and the other pieces of this type were all meant for jewellery purposes. But then the token betrays no sign whatsoever of having been mounted as jewellery. All such tokens, which have been discussed by various authors, from time to time, though mentioning different places of their minting, appear similar to the Murshidabad mint products.

It is just possible that the token, since it is issued more or less as a copy of the officially minted coins, may also have occasionally circulated. It is also likely that affluent persons may have purchased such tokens for being mounted as jewellery and also to be given to friends and relatives on ceremonial occasions.

ABHA SINGH

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1. *JNSI.*, XXI, Pt. II, pp. 176-178.
2. *JNSI.*, XXI, Pt. II, pp. 178.
3. *JNSI.*, XXXVII, pp. 191.

13

A NEW TYPE COPPER COIN OF BURHAN NIZAM SHAH III

(Pl. XIV)

The copper coins of the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar were first described by F. J. Thanawalla.[1] The coins of the Daulatabad mint were tentatively assigned by him to Burhan I or II. Subsequently the author of this note assigned these coins to Burhan III[2] and deciphered the complete legend as under :

Obverse	*Reverse*
برهان نظام ے شاه غاز ضرب	سنه شهور فی دولتاباد

Recently, my brother has sent some coins from Basmaṭnagar (Parbhani district of Marathwada), Maharashtra State, and I found in these coins a new type of copper coins of Burhan Nizam Shah III with the following legend :

Obverse	*Reverse*
In Tughra style of writing.	In Tughra style of writing.
برهان نظا(مشاه)	سنه ۱۰۲[۰] دولتاباد

Size : 1-5 cm. dia; Weight : 10.015 grammes; Shape : Circular.

(Pl. XIV. 6)

This type is distinctly different from the first type. Whereas the coins of the first type contain the legend inscribed in the Naskh style of writing, in this type it is in the Tughra style of writing. The coins of the first type contain the name of the king along with the dynastic appellative *Nizam* at the top and the honorofic title *Shāh Ghāzī* at the lower side of the coin. The word *Ghāzi* is written with *Ya-e-Majhool*, which is extended horizontally in the middle of the coin bifurcating it into two halves. In this coin, the legend of the obverse contains the name of the king without the honorofic title of *Ghazi.* In this legend we find the letters بر and ن of the name of the king in the middle, the letters ہا of the name at the top and the dynastic appellative نظامشاہ (*Nizām Shāh*) at the lower side. The vertical strokes of the letters ط (*Zoi*) and ا (*Alif*) of the word *Nizām* are extended upward so that they have intersected the letters بر and ہا respectively.

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[1] *NS*, III (48), p. 51.

[2] *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 262.

The coins of the first type contain on the reverse the usual legend as found on all the known coins of the Nizam Shahi dynasty, i.e., *Fi Shahur San*, meaning. 'In the months of year' and the date inscribed at the upper side of the coin, and at the lower side the mint-name *Daulatābād* is inscribed in the Tughrā style of writing. The letters د (*Dāl*) and و (*Wāu*) of دولت are written as superscript intersecting the upper strokes of the letters ل (*Lām*) and ا (*Alif*) of لتا respectively. Similarly, the letter د (*Dāl*) of باد is also written in the same manner and it occurs at the top intersecting the letter ا (*Alif*) of با

In this type the legend of the reverse of the coin, surprisingly, does not contain the usual epithet *Fi Shahur San*, but only contains the word *San* at the top and the date above it as A. H. 104x. According to the *Muntakhab-Ul-Lubāb*, Burhan Nizam Shah III died in A. H. 1040 and so the date inscribed can be taken as A. H. 1040 and it will be the closing year of his reign. The mintname دولتاباد (*Daulatabad*) occurs at the lower half of the coin and it is also written in the Tughrā style of writing, just like the above-mentioned coins of the first type. The only difference noticeable is that the letter د (*Dāl*) of باد is not intersected with the letter ا (*Alif*) of با as found on the coins of the first type.

Thus this new type of the coins of Burhān Nizām Shāh III is found to be deviating from the usual pattern of Nizām Shāhī coins.

ABDULHAMEED SIDDIQUI

14

TWO INTERESTING SHIVAJI MEDALS

(Pl. XIV)

Recently I came across a couple of interesting medals or tokens issued in memory of Shivaji which are published here. One of them (No. I) was brought to my notice by Shri Raghunath Sanghi of Nagpur and the other (No. II) by Shri Chandrashekhar Gupta, Registering Officer, Department of Archaeology, Government of Maharashtra.

I. Silver; circular; diameter: 3 cms.; weight: 1270 gms.; edges are raised.

Obv. : Conventional head of Shivaji, vigorously represented, to right; circular halo round the head; on his either side, a snake with raised hood and coiled body; below, a life-like representation of a cow couchant to left; on top, semi-circular Nāgarī legend *Chhatrapati śri-Śivājī Mahārāja;* under the cow's neck and head, inscription in Roman characters *Ambat.*

Rev. : In the middle within a circular shield, from top to bottom, the figures 1984 in Nāgarī, the symbol for *Om,* and tiger's claw; above it, a turban with *turrā* (streamers) but without crest (*kalagi*); on either side of the shield, a fort: the one on left on a hill and probably provided with a rampart wall, and that on right standing on plane and provided with a gate and looking like Shanwarwada at Pune; below, a sword; still below, a double-masted ship in the sea indicated by waves; under the forts on either side, a couple of small boats; across the entire surface, a couple of crossed spears; to the left of the lower portion of one of the spears, the legend *Bombay.* **(Pl. XIV. 4)**

The devices on both sides are symbolic and point to the various facets of Shivaji's life. Shivaji is remembered as the protector of cows and Brahmanas, and the representation of the cow on the obverse is obviously intended to emphasise this aspect. The sword on the reverse evidently stands for the famous Bhavānī sword of Shivaji. Shivaji was also an excellent lance-bearer, and this is highlighted by the two lances depicted on the reverse. Navy formed an important part of Shivaji's forces and played a significant role in his military activities. The ship and boats on the reverse evidently symbolise this phenomenon The forts apparently point to the very basis of Shivaji's strength which lay in forts on hills and planes. The tiger's claw (*baghanakhā*) was employed as a weapon by Shivaji and it is well known how he overwhelmed Afzal Khan with the help of this weapon.

The Roman legend on the obverse probably gives us the surname of the person responsible for making or getting this medal made[1] and it was produced at Bombay as indicated by the Roman legend on the reverse

The figures on top within the shield appear to give a date. Unfortunately the era to which the year 1984 belongs is not specified. But it goes without saying that a date in the Christian era is completely out of place. The same is the case with the Śaka era. The only era which can be thought of in the present context is the Vikrama era commencing 57 B. C. If this is accepted, the A. D. equivalent of this date will be 1927 (1984-57 = 1927). There is much controversy about the date of Shivaji's birth. According to some historians, this event took place in 1627 and, according to others, in 1630 A. D. Taking the former date, exactly three hundred years had elapsed since Shivaji's birth in 1927 A. D. It is well known that the event of completion of three centuries since Shivaji's birth was celebrated with great pomp and show in various parts of Maharashtra and outside. At Oundh an album on Shivaji's life was issued on this occasion. It appears therefore that the present medal was issued as a part of the celebration of tricentenary of Shivaji's birth by some individual or organisation at Bombay.

The medal is suspended from a ring which indicates that it was borne by people with a natural pride.

II. Silver; circular; diameter : 1.9 cms.; weight : 4.300 gms. A hook fixed on reverse for wearing or suspending.

Obv. : Conventional bust of Shivaji to left; on either side, a decorative branch with a couple of leaves and full-blown flower; below, a sheathed sword laid horizontally; above, Nāgarī legend *Chhatrapati Śivājī.*

Rev. : Hook revetted within a shallow circle in the middle. Around it, floral design in nine compartments, narrow about the centre and broader at the edges, separated from one another by lines.

(Pl. XIV. 5)

As in the case of the first medal, the sword on the obverse is meant for the famous Bhavānī sword.

Nothing is known about the occasion to mark which this medal was produced.

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

15

A DOCUMENT OF THE MINTING OF COINS IN MAHARASHTRA

Last year I submitted a paper to the Indore session of the NSI on 'A Report on the Maratha mints of the Peshwa period', located at Pune and, Chakan and Chinchavad near Pune. Since then or even before, I am trying to collect, whenever possible, original contemporary records on Indian Currency in the past in general and Currency and Minting in Maharashtra in particular. This year, an assistant of mine, while examining old records of the 18th century from the Senapati Dābhāḍe family of Talegaon (Pune), came across a record regarding the minting of some coins. It is in Marathi and Modi script and unfortunately it bears only the day and month as 26th Zilquada but no year of the date of the writing. It however certainly belongs to the Maratha period. It is addressed to one brahman Sadāśivarāva Phaḍnīs by some non-brahman as is evident from the word *'Daṇḍavat'* at the beginning of the body of the text. It purports to the following effect. One Narahara Raghunātha Reḍe Potnīs has been entrusted with the establishment of a mint and the seal to be used for minting coins in it. It appears that the seal in question is either in your possession or in the possession of one Jīvanasiṅgh. You are, therefore, ordered that the seal concerned should be handed over to the above mentioned Potnīs and a strong room should be allotted to him, where he could deposit the seal, the weights etc. of the mint and continue his work.

श्री

राजश्री सदासिवराव फडणीस गोसावियासि

दंडवत विनंति उपरी राजश्री नरहर रंगनाथरेडे पोतनीस याजकडे टंकसाळीचे काम सांगोन सिका कोठी मारनिल्हे कडे देविळी होती ती तुम्हापासी अगर जीवनसिंग याजकडे आहे म्हणोन विदित जाहाळे तरी सिका कोठी मााारनिल्हेकडे देणे आणि वाड्यात खोळी येक याजकडे चांगळी बंदोंबस्ताची तेथून द्यावी म्हणजे सेथे सिका टांकसाळी कडील व वजने वगैरे मारनिल्हे ठेवून वैहिवाट करतीळ ण छ २६ जिळकाद बहुत काय लिहिणे

चिठी

Supplement

In my paper contributed to the *JNSI* I have given the exchange values of several gold coins purchased and sold by a member of a Raste family of Wai (Satara, Maharashtra) who was serving as a Captain in the Maratha army in the fourth Karnataka war against Haidar Alī. Here I give below the exchange values of some gold *muhars* and one *hona* from an account sheet that were either purchased or seldom sold in 1780 A. D. or there-about by a banker related to the same Raste family. Unfortunately neither the touches of the gold contents of the *muhars* and *hona* nor the rupees which was used in the transaction have been mentioned in the record. Though it is rather difficult to ascertain the touches of the *muhars* and *honas* mentioned below, I shall not be far from right, if I say that *Hālī Sikka* rupee which was also most probably called *Do-chashmī* rupee, and which was coined in Pune is meant here.

Name of the Muhar	*Exchange Values in Rupees and Pice*
Arkāṭī	13·36
ʻĀlamgīrī	14-28, 14-56.
ʻAlī Gauharī	
Aḥmad shāhī	14-12, 14-20, 14-24.
ʻĀlam Shāhī	14-12.
Aurangābādī	13-00.
Delhi	14-36, 14-44, 14-48, 14-50, 14-52, 14-56, 14-60, 15-00.
Dīg-Kumbher	14-40.
Farrukh Shāhī	14-24, 14-40
Hālī Sikka	13·6, 13-8, 13-12, 13-28, 13-32.
Haidarābādī	
Jaya nagarī	13-16, 13-32, 13-44, 13-48, 13·52, 14-00.
Jahāngīrkhānī	14-56.
Jodhapurī	14-32.
Kurā-Jahānābādī	13-48.
Koṭā	13-8, 13-36
Najīb Shāhī	13-44, 13-48, 13-56, 14-00.
Panchamela	13-20, 13-36, 13-40, 13-48, 13-56, 13-58, 13-60, 14-4, 14-6, 14-10, 14-12, 14-13, 14-16.
Sheṭa Shāhī	12-52, 13-4, 13-8, 13-16, 13-20
Topkhānī	13-48, 14-16, 14.24, 14-32.
Unspecified	13-00, 13-14, 13-16, 13-32, 13-48, 14-16, 14-44, 14-48, 15-00.
Harsanī (of different years)	13-16, 13-20, 13-28, 13-32, 13-36, 14-16.
Hona	3-00, 3·32, 4-00.

G. H. KHARE

16

SIX GOLD COINS OF THE UNKNOWN KING SOMĀÑGADEVA

(Pl. XIII)

The most interesting aspect of the six rare *padmaṭaṅka*-like gold coins discovered in Maharashtra is that on their obverse an equestrian king carrying a princess on his back is depicted. But the king who issued these coins is, at least so far, unknown to history. His name as mentioned in the legend is Somāṅgadeva. Probably a Goṇḍ ruler, his period is yet to be ascertained.

This discovery was made at Pesi Wardha village, Gadchiroli taluk in Chandrapur district, Maharashtra. This interior area is still inhabited by the Gonds.

The equestrian king carrying a princess on his back, on the obverse of the coin, reminds us of the incident of Pṛithvīrāja Chauhan and Saṁyuktā. The coin has marginal straight-line legend in Devanagarī, giving the name of the king, while the reverse is blank. The Devanāgari script is of 14th-15th century A. D.

Weight 3.800 gms. Size 2.00 cms.

The full legend runs thus :

Obverse:

Srī Kvāmasha Srī Somaṁgadeva Mananīvarā
In a square frame and in a circle mounted king
with a princess on a galloping horse.
Below the king a symbol.

Reverse:

Convex side
Striation **(Pl. XIII.5)**

M. K. HUSSAIN

17

AN INTERESTING COIN OF MANIPUR

(Pl. XIII)

The present coin which was noticed by the author in the coin cabinet of the Manipur State Museum, Imphal,[1] was described earlier by W. Yumjao Singh.[2] The opinion of Singh has widely been accepted by the people of Manipur who very often refer to this coin along with Singh's observation in this respect while tracing the antiquity of their civilisation.[3] But from a closer examination of the coin we are convinced that the coin requires a reassessment.

Description of the coin :

Metal—Bell-metal; Weight—4. 02 gms; Size—1.55 x 1.70 cm; Shape—Square; Language—Not pure Sanskrit; Script—Devanāgarī.

The reading of the coin-legend as restored by W. Yumjao Singh with the help of four other almost similar coins is as follows :

Obv.: *1. Chetra-sudhī = Chaitra-sudi*

2. Tarasha-vāda = Tarasha-vāra[4]

3. 2 saṁvad

4. 164; i. e. Sunday (*Tarsha*), the second day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra of the year (*saṁvat*) 164.

Our reading of the legend of the present coin is given below :

Obv.: *1. Chetra-sudhī = Chaitra-sudī*

---

[1] I am indebted to Th. Subol Singh, N. Khelchandra Singh, Syed Tariq and Km. Ibe Chaobi of Manipur for their kind help towards my study of the coinage of Manipur.

[2] W. Yumjao Singh, *Report on the Archaeological Studies in Manipur*, Imphal, 1935, pp. 22 ff.

[3] Cf. *Manipur Language, Literature and Culture*, Manipur Sahitya Parishad, Imphal, 1970, p. 6.

[4] According to Singh *Tarasha* seems to have been derived from *Tarasha* meaning 'thirst', 'sun', etc. and the word *vāra* has locally changed into *vāda* on the coin See W. Yumjao Singh, op. cit., p. 48.

2. *Je-Rama 2* = *Jai (Jaya)-Rāma 2*[1]
3. *Saṁ 164 (6)* = *(Śaka) saṁ 1646* i. e. victory to Rāma, the second day of the bright half of Chaitra of the Śaka year 1646.

Rev. Plain. (**Pl. XIII 6-10**)

Manipur (2350 and 2541 N and 932 and 9447 E) has long had an independent existence. The boundaries of the State of Manipur seem to have fluctuated at various times with the fortunes of their rulers.[2] The history of the coinage of Manipur, like its political history, has, however, been traced from a very early time. On the basis of the evidence of the *Cheitharol Kumbaba* it has been suggested that Pākhaṅgbā (*c.* 33—154 A. D.), the popular hero of Manipur, introduced a coinage of thin bell-metal pieces known as shel.[3] Although Hodson was shown a big bell-metal coin supposed to have been struck by Pākhaṅgbā,[4] Col. McCulloch credits Khāgembā (*c.* A. D. 1597-1652) with first striking bell-metal coinage and figures the coin, which is round.[5]

---

1. Some may have preferred to read the line as *Terasha* 2. But in that case it would be difficult to explain the meaning of 2 in the legend. Moreover, on some other coins we have *vāda* instead of 2. Hence the reading of *Je-Rama* (i.e. *Jai* (*Jaya*) *Rāma*) 2 or Je-Rāma-vāda (i.e. *Jai-(Jaya)-Rāmavāda*) would be most appropriate. D. C. Sircar is inclined to accept the latter reading.
2. Cf. Pemberton, R. B., *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India*, Calcutta, 1835, p. 20.
3. Chatterji, S. K., *Kirāta-jana-kṛiti*, Calcutta, 1951, p. 82. The shels are oblong or square in shape, sometimes a bit concave and bear no date except the names of those rulers in whose time they were struck. Later on (possibly in the latter half of the 18th century as supposed by Singh, op. cit., p. 45), shels became smaller and circular in shape bearing only the initial letter of the name of the ruler or the word *śrī* and they are known as *shel makhāis* or half-shels. The market value of the shel underwent frequent changes in this period. According to Dun, 'when rupees are plentiful, then shel is cheap; when scarce, the opposite. The value of the coin in 1873 was 428 to one British or Burmese rupee, and its usual variation is said to be from 420 to 450 '(*Gazetteer of Manipur*, 1886, p. 66). In the indigenous table *shel makhāi chamari*, otherwise known as *lupā amā* (or, one rupee) is equivalent to 5000 shels. (See Pettigrew, W., *Manipur Grammar*, Allahabad, 1912, p. 58).
4. Cf. Hodson, T. C., *The Meitheis*, London, 1908, pp. 36-39. The remark of Hodson is worth noticing in this context :

   'The coin shown to me as Pakungba's is, the Munnipories say, the oldest in the country; it is a shield-shaped disk of bell metal, very thin, but of large size, measuring rather more than 3½ inches in diameter : it has no marks on it of any kind' (op. cit., p. 37).
5. McCulloch, Major William, *Account of the valley of Munnipore and of the Hill Tribes, with a comparative vocabulary of the Munnipore and other Languages*, Calcutta, 1859, p. 37.

The present coin, unlike the supposed big coin (3½′′) of Pākhaṅghā mentioned by Hodson, bears legend which, however, does not mention the name of the king. But Singh has tried to show that it was actually struck by Pākhaṅgbā, and thus he has preferred to read the date given in the third line as *saṁ* 164 which in his opinion, is equivalent to (164—58 =) 106 A. D.[1] In other words the coin was issued in the second century A. D. during the reign of Pākhaṅgbā. But there is little doubt that there is another digit after 164 and that is 6, which has, however, been unfortunately overlooked by Singh. So, the third line of the legend may be restored as *saṁ* 1646. Now, the *saṁvat* starting from the Chaitraśudi should be taken as Śaka-saṁvat.[2] It may also be noted here that the traditional literary sources of Manipur, the inscriptions and coins discovered here so far indicate the popularity of Śaka-saṁvatsara in this region. Besides Śaka era, Chandrābda[3] seems to have been in vogue in Manipur, but we don't have any evidence of the prevalence of the Vikrama era. Thus *saṁ* 1646 should be equivalent to 1646 + 78-9 =) 1724-5 A. D., and it coincides with the date of the first expedition of Pamheiba *alias* Gopāla Simha or Gharīb-nawāz (*c*. 1709-1748 A. D.) against the Burmese ten years after his successful expendition against the ruler of Tripura.[4]

Again, it may also be pointed out in this connection that the Nāgarī script used in the present coin-legend did not develop before mediaeval period.[5]

Gharīb-nawāz may be said to be the founder of the fame of the royal house cf Manipur. The intensive orientation towards Hindu culture through Bengal Vaishṇavism began through him. *Je-Rama* (*Jai-Jaya-Rāma*) of the coin legend reminds us of his initiation into the Rāmānanda order. He became a zealot champion of Rāmānanda cult. It may be mentioned here that he entered into the Rāmānanda order of Vaishṇavism through Śāntidāsa Adhikārī.[1] The temple of Ramji Prabhu and the custom of putting on special white turban on ceremonial occasions and issuing coins in the name of Rāma, an incarnation of Vishṇu, indicate the influence of Rāmānanda cult in Manipur. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that besides the present coin, we have come across several hundreds of pieces of circular bell-metal coins found in the Mairang District[2] with the legend *Śrī Rama* (*Śrī Rāma*) in archaic Bengali characters, and these were probably struck during the time of Gharīb-nawāz.

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[1] W. Yumjao Singh, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

[2] Cf. Sircar, D. C., *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965, pp. 259-60.

[3] *Chandrābda* on the coin of Gambhīrasiṁha, *JNSI*, XXVII, pp. 110-11. [For the use of Chandrābda in Manipur cf. also the 'Coins of Manipur' by Vasant Chowdhury and Parimal Ray, in *Coinage and Economy of North Eastern India*, *JPS*].

[4] Roy, J., *The History of Manipur*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 38; E. Gait, *A History of Assam*, Calcutta, 3rd edition, 1963, p. 322.

[5] 'The Rajasthani Style' in Dani, A. H., *Indian Palaeography*, Oxford, 1963, p. 111. 'The Nāgarī alphabet may be classified as Early and Modern, the former being used in records dating from the 10th to the 14th century and the latter in those of the period from the 14th century onwards'. D. C. Sircar in *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, IV, 1970-71, p. 119.

P. K. BHATTACHARYYA

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[1] Singh, M. Jhulon, *Bijoy Pañchāli*, pp. 65-66; also L. Iboongohal, Singh, *An Introduction to Manipur*, Imphal, 1963, pp. 215-16.

[2] These are at present preserved in the Manipur State Museum, Imphal.

18

TWO NEW RĀMA TAÑKĀS

(Pl. XIII)

The two Rāma Taṅkās being published here were purchased by me from a person at Dashāśwamedh Ghāt, Vārānasī.

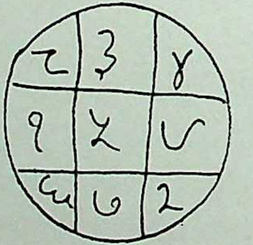
1. Yantra Type :

Metal-Brass; Shape-Round; Weight—10.527 gms.;

Diameter-2.90 Cm; Breadth—0.23 Cm.

Obv. : Within dotted border Rāma and Sīta seated on the throne in *sukhāsana* under the jewelled parasol (*Chhatra*) with Lakshmaṇa on the right and Bharata and Śatrughna on the left. Hanumān is shown below the *āsana*.[1] All the figures are facing front. Here Rāma does not hold a flower in his raised left hand as found in some of the published Rāma Tankas.

Rev. : Within dotted border the following *yantra* is given. **(Pl. XIII. 1)**



८	३	४
१	५	९
६	७	२

2. Hanumān carrying mountain type :

Obv. : Same as above, but there is a slight difference in the figures of Hanumān and Sītā.

Rev. : Within dotted border Hanumān in centre, standing in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude’ to right, his tail is curled up and then down. He is shown wearing *Jānghiā* (under wear), a pearl bordered head-dress and a garland. He holds a *gadā* (club or mace) in his right hand and over right shoulder, and a mountain (*dhavalāgīrī*[1]) in his left hand. On either side of Hanumān are two short palm trees having five leaves each. Under Hanumān's feet we see grass growing ? His feet are not in contact with the grass, which gives the impression that he is flying.

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[1] *JNSI.*, XXXIV, Pt. II, p. 264.

Legend (above) right to left (7.30 to 2.00)

Pavanatanaya dhavalāgīrī dharāyanamah.

Legend (below) right to left (3.00 to 6.00)

Śrī Hanumāna 405 (probably some fictitious era) (**Pl. XIII. 2**).

The Rāma Taṅkās published here are unique in the sense that no coins of these types have been published so far.

ASHOK KUMAR MAURYA

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[1] D. C. Sircar haa published a Rāma Taṅkā on which he thinks that Hanumān is carrying the 'Gandhamādana mountain', *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 399 and Pl. XXIII. 3). But A. M. Shastri has criticised his observations and has suggested that Hanumāna on that piece is actually trying to catch the Sun (*JNSI*, XXXVII, p. 174, Pl. XVII. 2).

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Plate I

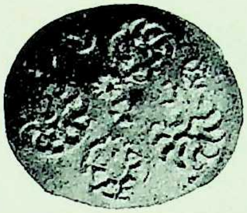
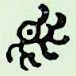
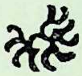
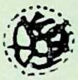
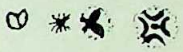
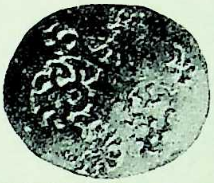
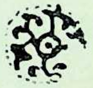
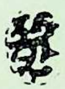
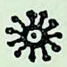
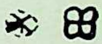
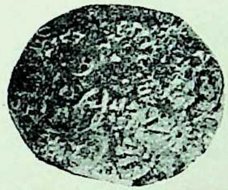
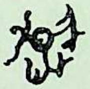
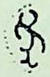
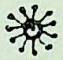
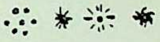
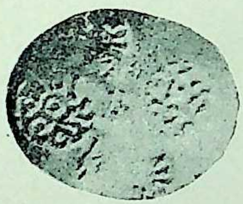
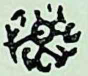
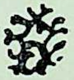
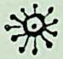
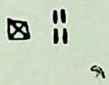
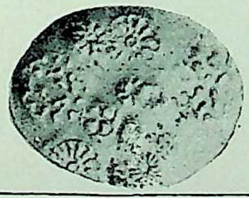
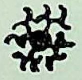
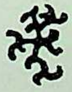
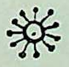
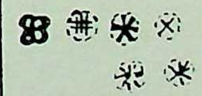
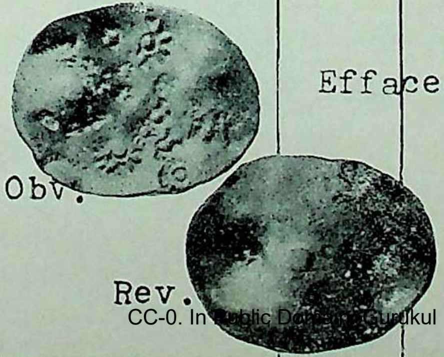
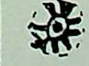
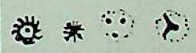
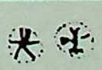
Ref. No.	Photo.s	SYMBOLS			
		A	B	C	Minor
1					Obv. 
2A					Obv. 
2B					Obv. 
2C					Obv. 
3					Obv. 
4	 Obv. Rev.	Effaced			Obv.  Rev. 

Plate II

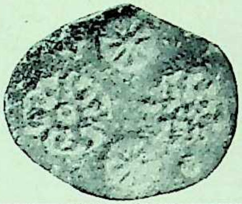
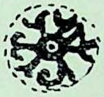
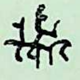
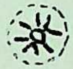
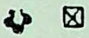
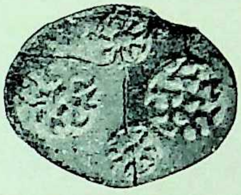
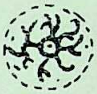
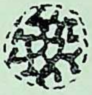
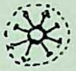
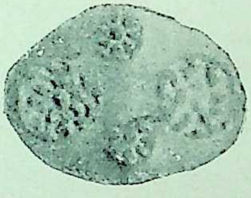
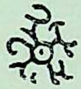
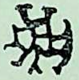
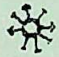
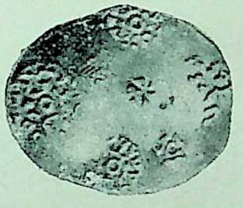
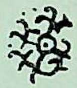
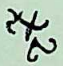
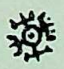
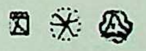
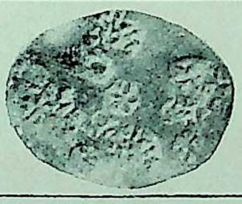
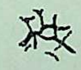
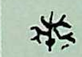
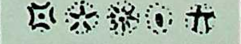
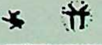
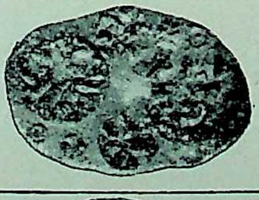
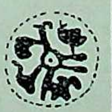
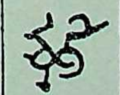
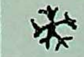
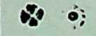
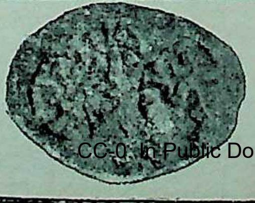
Ref. No.	Photos	SYMBOLS A	SYMBOLS B	SYMBOLS C	SYMBOLS Minor
5					Obv.  Ancient Forgery
6A					Nil
6B					Nil
7					Obv. 
8			Not clear		Obv.  Rev. 
9A					Obv. 
9B		Symbols as on 9A			Nil

Plate III

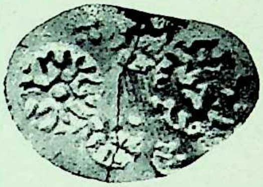
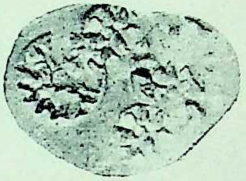
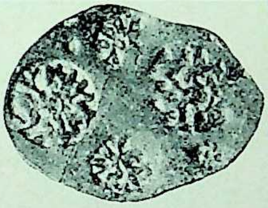
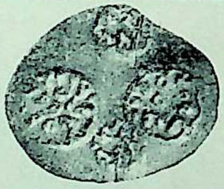
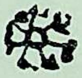
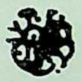
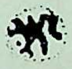
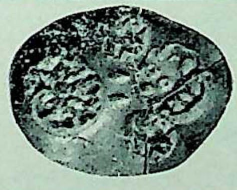
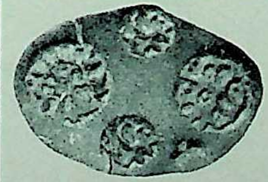
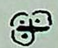
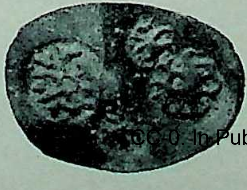
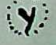
Ref. No.	Photo.s	SYMBOLS			
		A	B	C	Minor
9C		Symbols as on 9A			Oov. Rev.
9D		Symbols as on 9A			Nil
9E		Symbols as on 9A			Obv.
10A					Nil
10B		Symbols as on 10 A			Obv.
10C		Symbols as on 10 A			Obv. 
10D		Symbols as on 10 A			Obv. Nil Rev. 

Plate IV

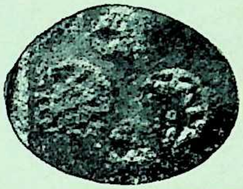
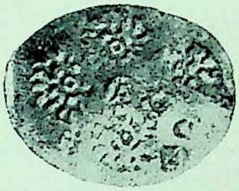
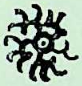
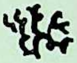
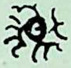
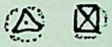
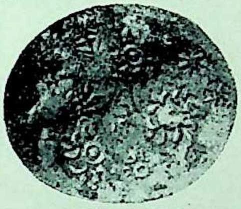
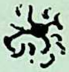
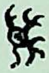
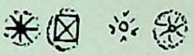
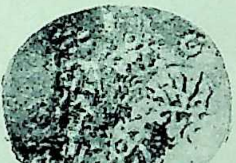
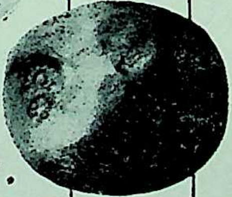
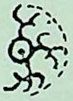
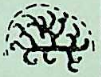
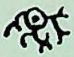
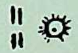
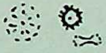
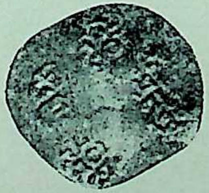
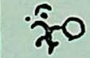
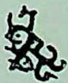
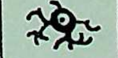
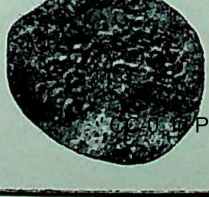
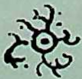
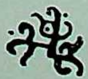
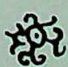
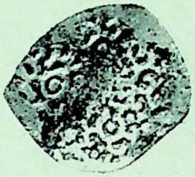
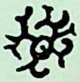
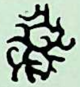
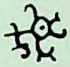
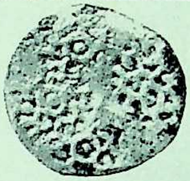
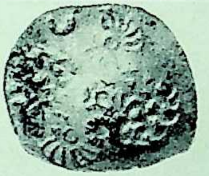
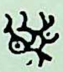
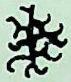
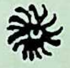
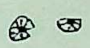
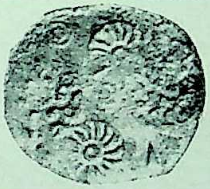
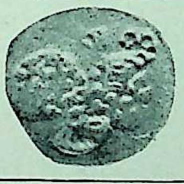
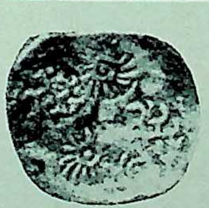
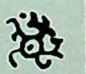
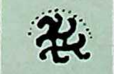
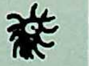
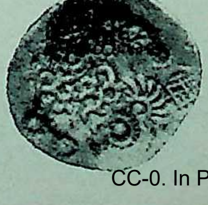
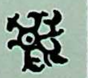
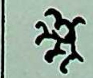
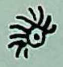
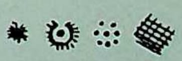
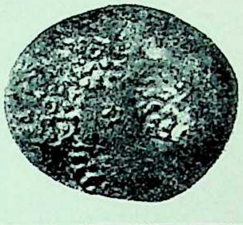
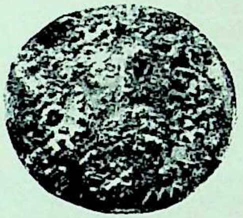
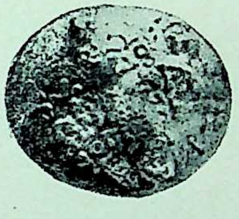
Ref. No.	Photos	SYMBOLS			
		A	B	C	Minor
10E		Symbols as on 10A			Nil
11					Obv.  +faint marks
12			Not clear		Obv. 
13	 Obv.  Rev.				 Obv. Rev. 
14A					Nil
14B					Nil

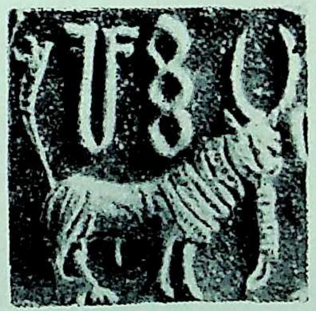
Plate V

Ref. No.	Photos	SYMBOLS			
		A	B	C	Minor
15A					Nil
15 B		Symbols as on 15-A			Nil
16A					Obv. 
16B		Symbols as on 16-A			Obv.
16C		Symbols as on 16A, with marks A, B overlapping C, C.			Obv.
17A					Nil
17 B					Obv. 

A

Ref. No.	Photos	Addendum: From Mr.H.P.Poddar's Collection
18		Details not recorded but similar to Type 13
19		Details not recorded but similar to Type 9A
20		Details not recorded but similar to Type 14A

B



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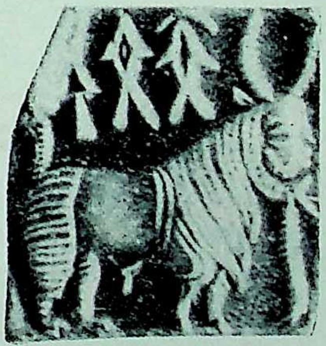
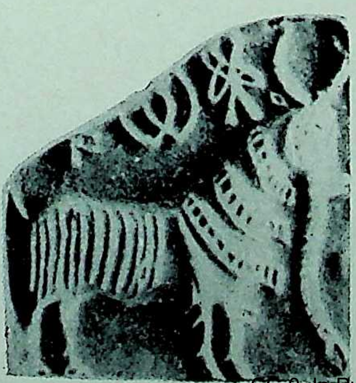
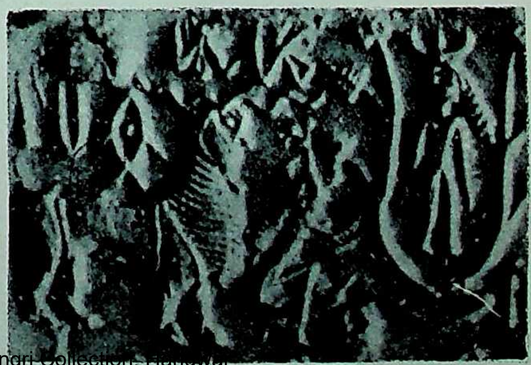


2

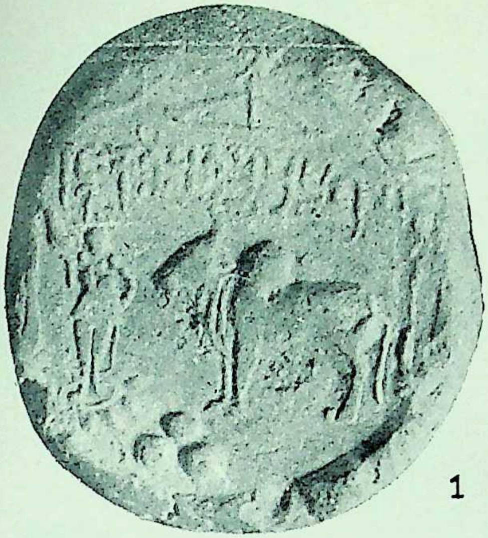


3



4

A. Kaśi Coins; B. 'Aja' on Indus Seals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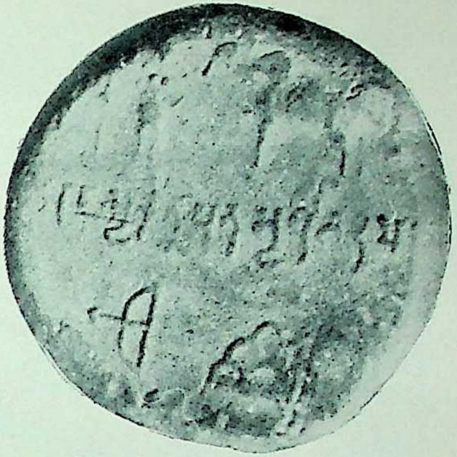
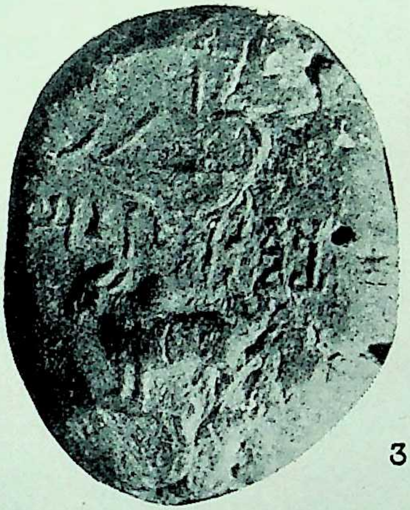
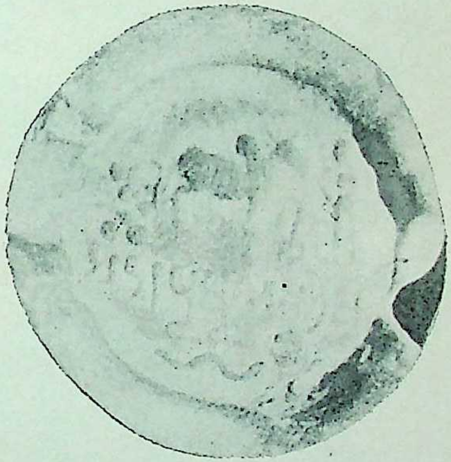

2


3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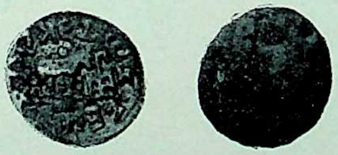
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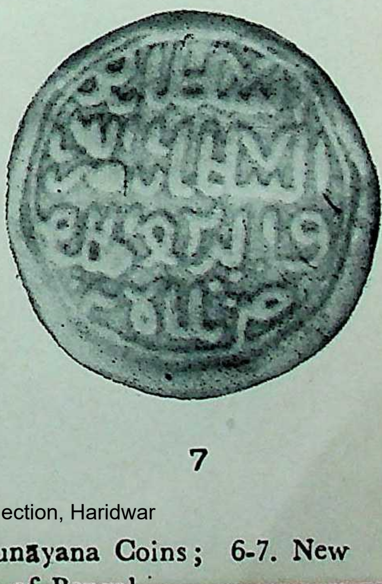
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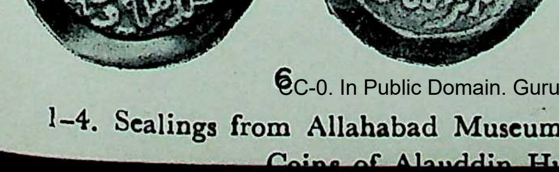
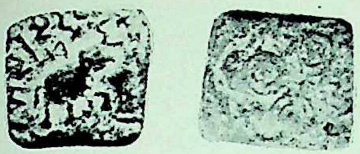
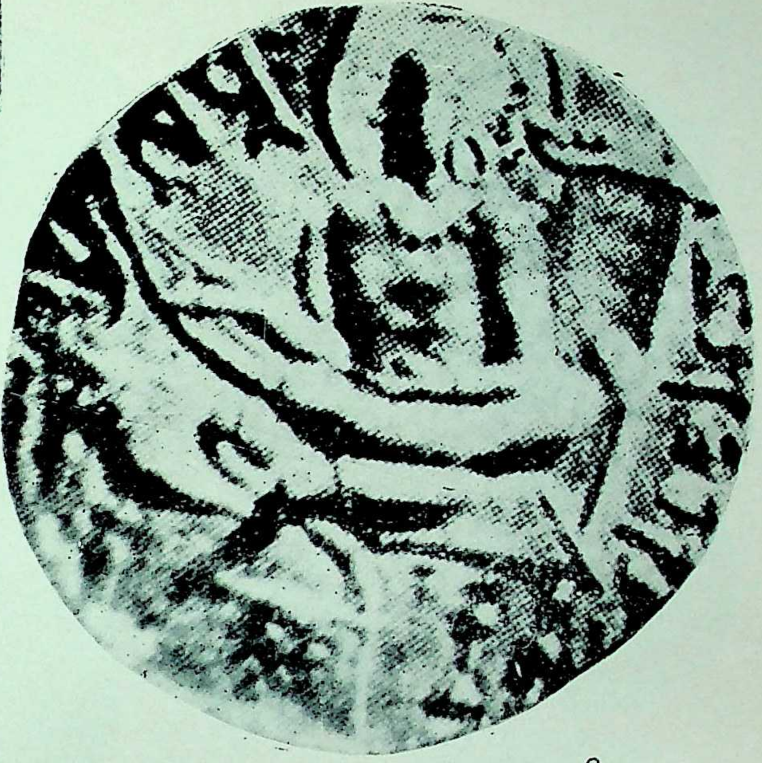

6

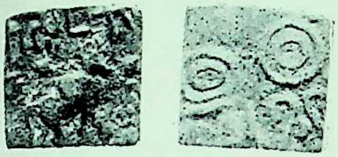
1–4. Sealings from Allahabad Museum; 5. Ārjunāyana Coins; 6-7. New Coins of Alauddin Husain Shah of Bengal



1

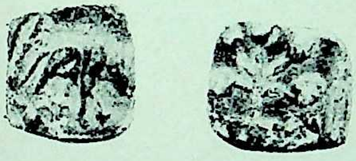


8



2

3



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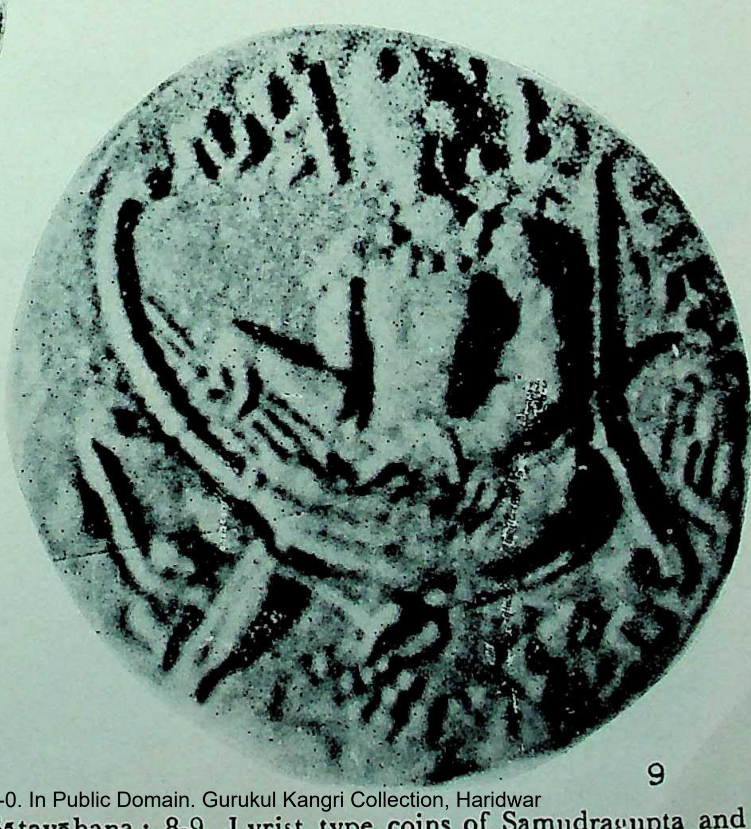

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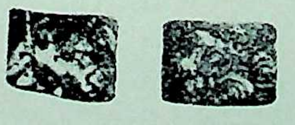
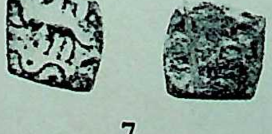


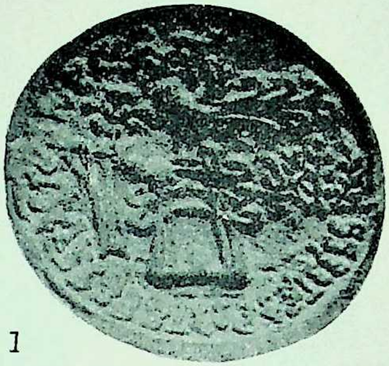
6



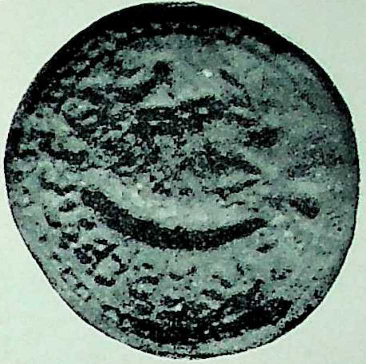
7

9

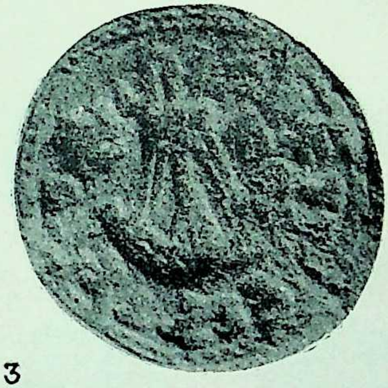
1-7. Coins of King Satavāhana; 8-9. Lyrist type coins of Samudragupta and Kumaragupta-depicting Vīnā.



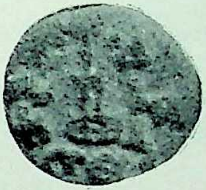
1



2



3



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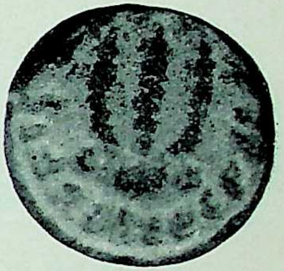

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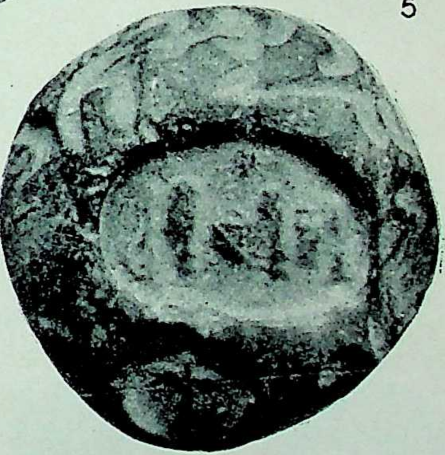

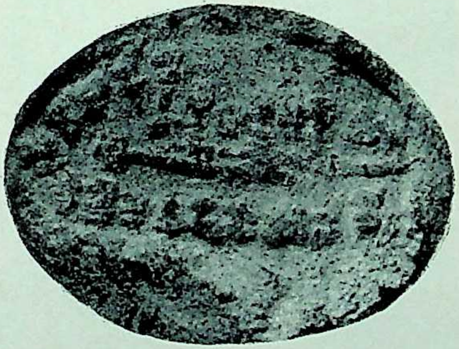

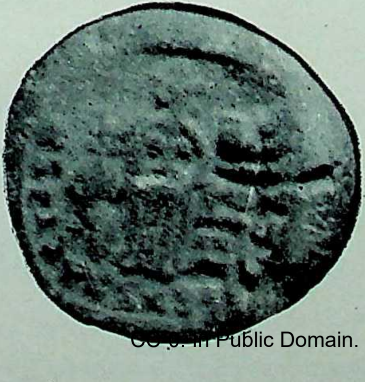

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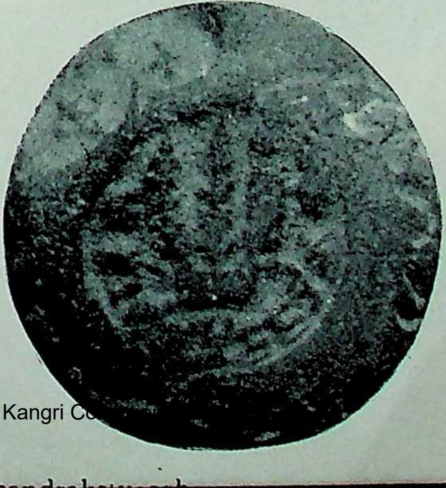
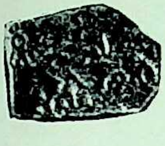


Sealings from Chandraketugarh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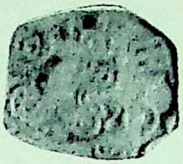
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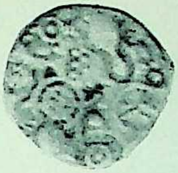
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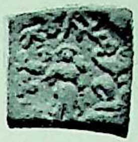
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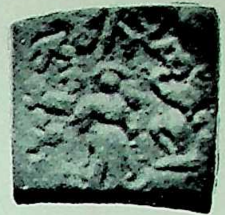
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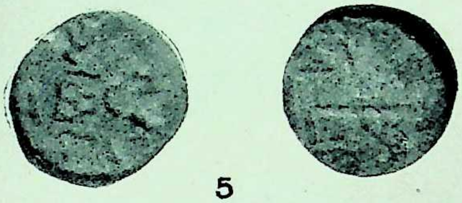
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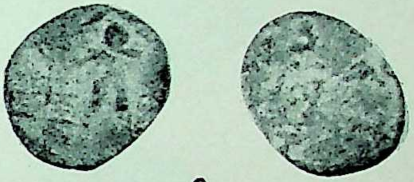
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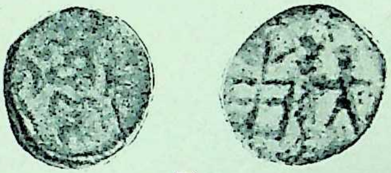
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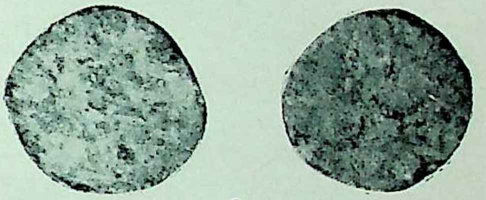
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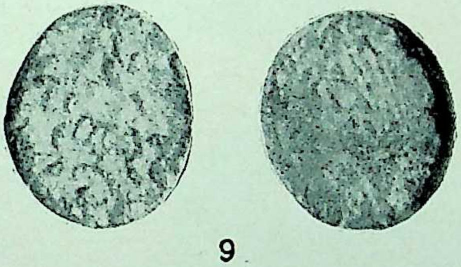
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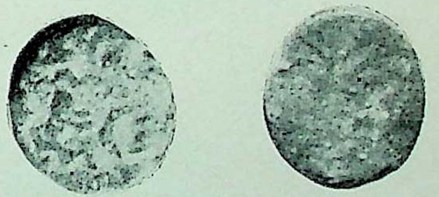
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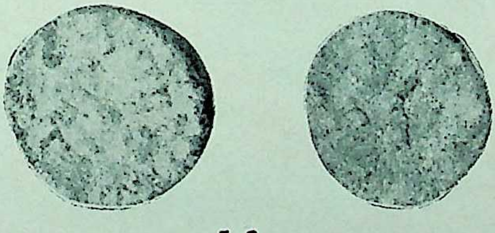
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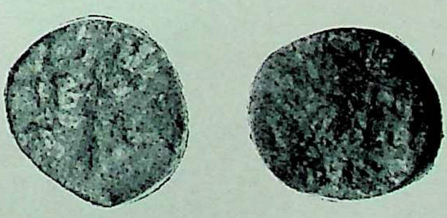
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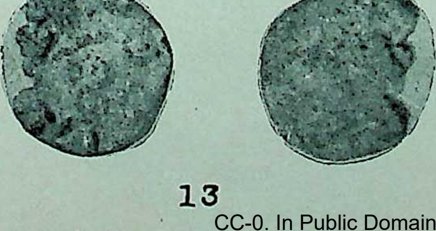
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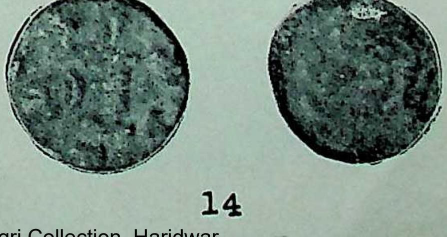
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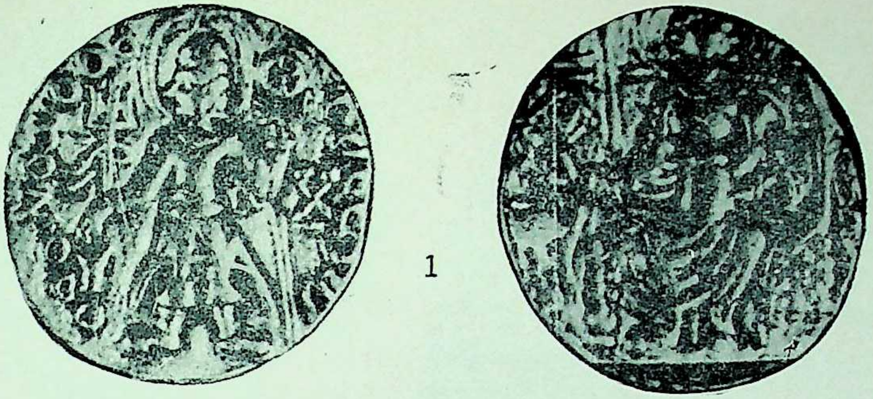
1. Punchmarked coin from Kakarahaṭā ; 2-3. Two Punchmarked Coins ; 4-4a (enlarged) Mathura Coin ; 5-14. Coins of the Sena Dynasty.



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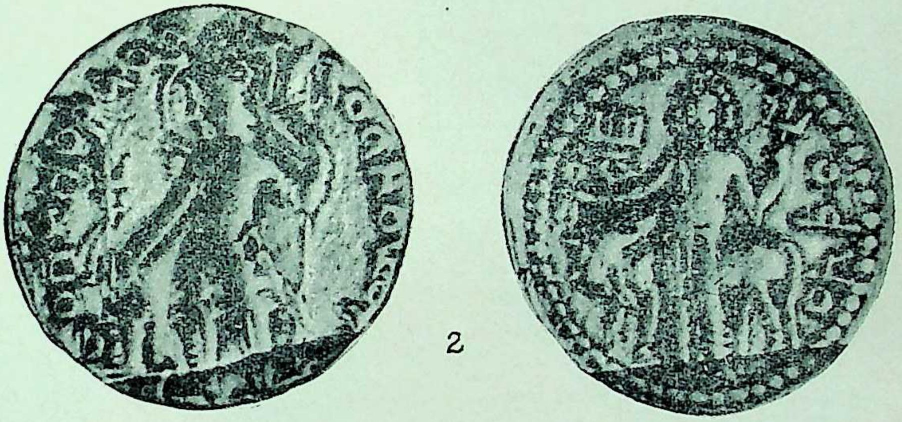

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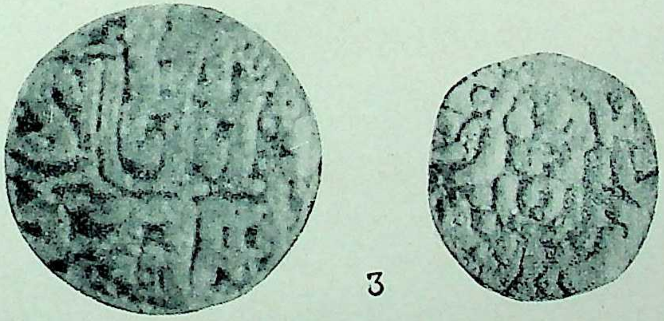

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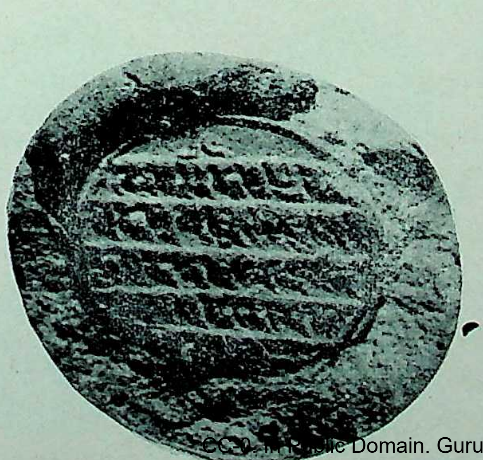

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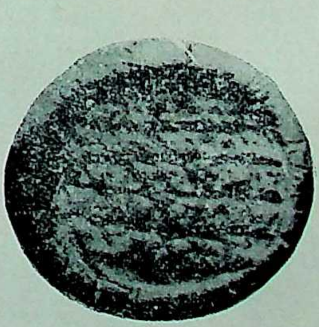

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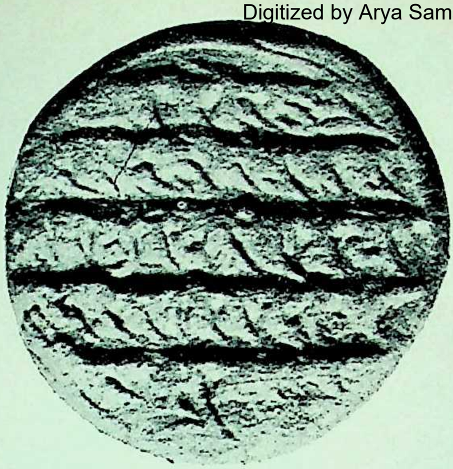
1-2. Kushana Coins from Rajasthan ; 3. Coin of Chandella Devavarman ;



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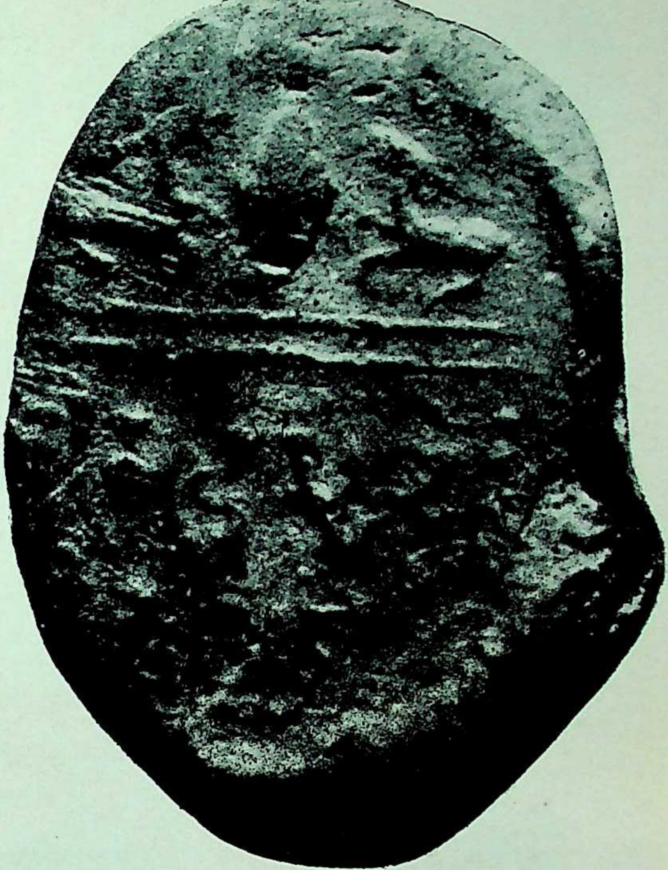

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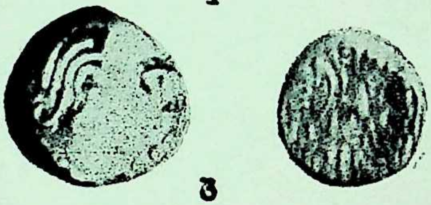

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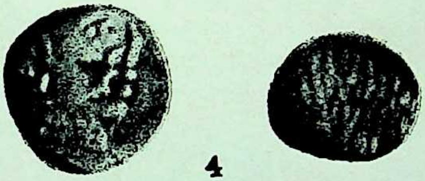

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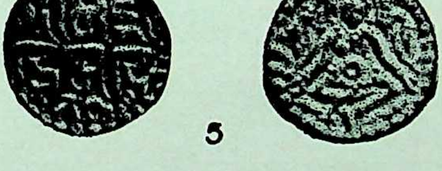

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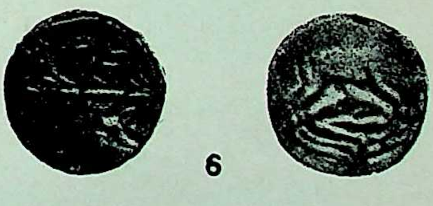

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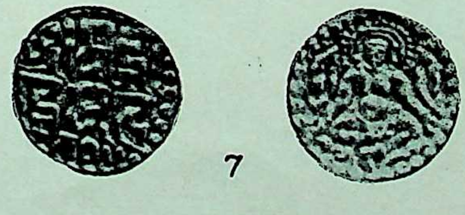

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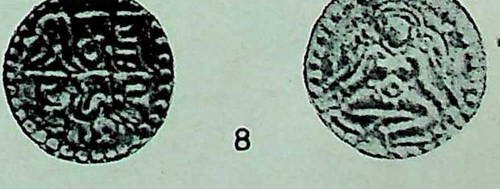

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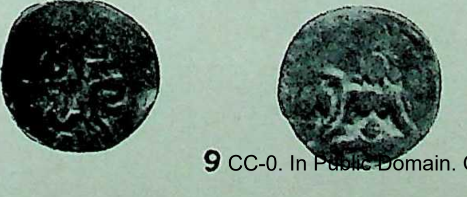

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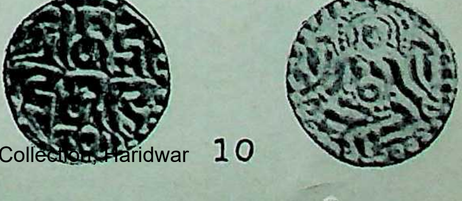

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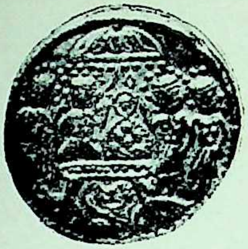
1-2. Sealings from Sarnath ; 3-4. Kalchuri Coins of Krishnarāja ;



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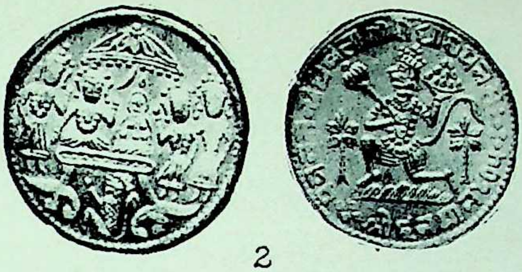

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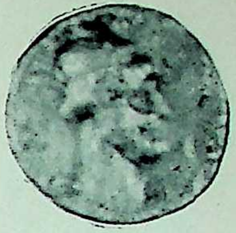

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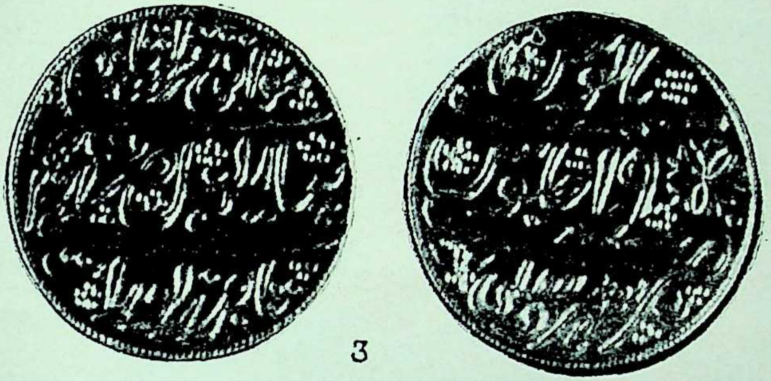

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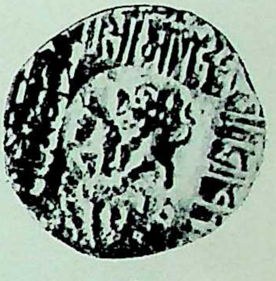

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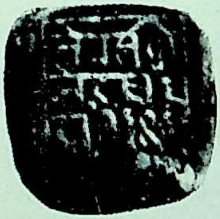

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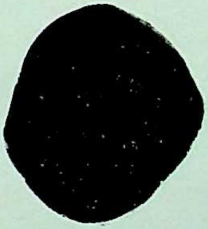

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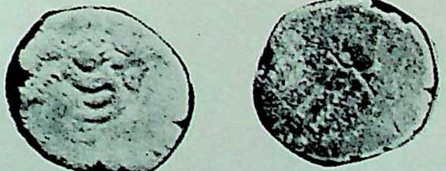

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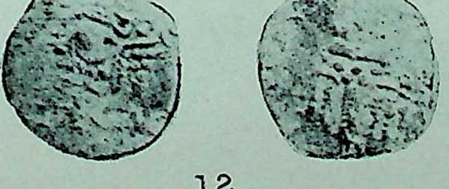

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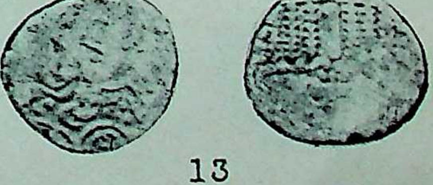

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1-2. Two New Ramṭankas ; 3. A new Jewellry Token ; 4. Coin of Soter Megas ;

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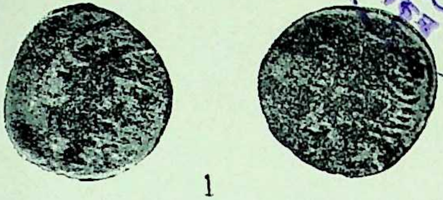

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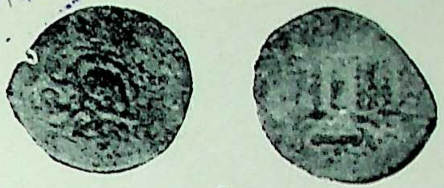

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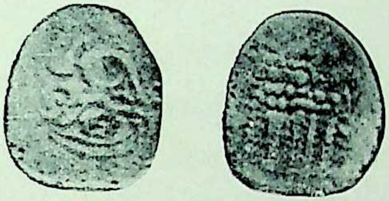

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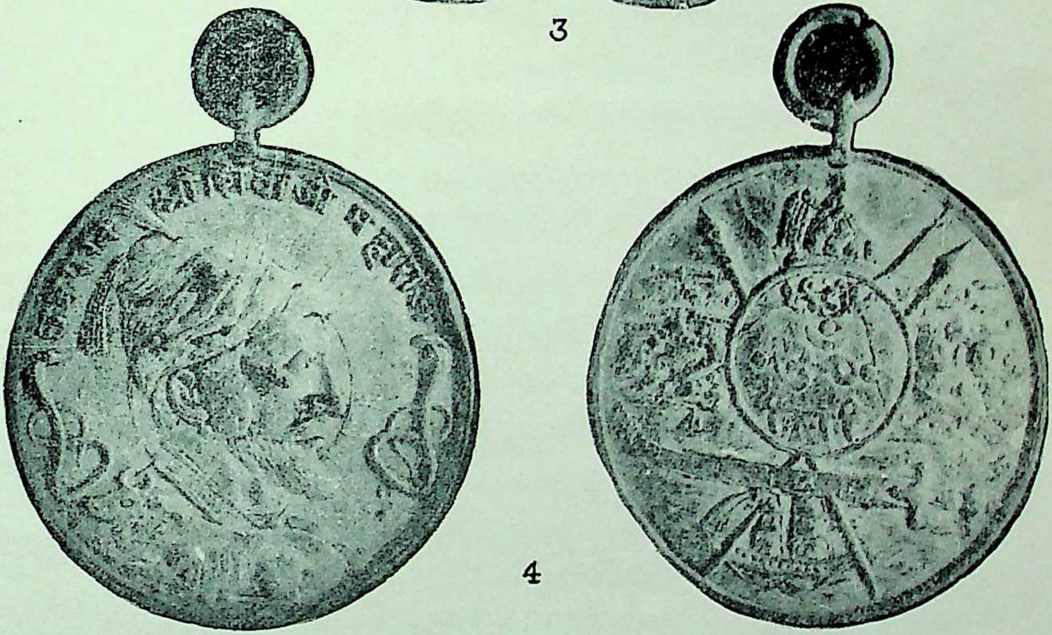

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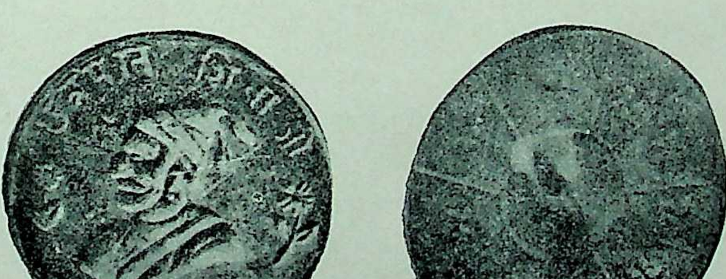

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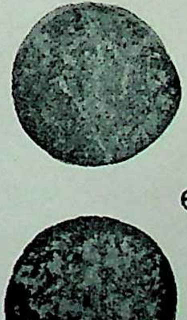

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1-3. Indo-Sassanian Coins from Jabalpur ; 4-5. Sivaji Medals ; 6. Coin of Burhan Nizam Shah III.

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